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CAST UP BY THE SEA.—MUTINY OF THE 'BOUNTY.'

(*Frontispiece.*)

THE STORY

OF

THE GOOD SHIP BOUNTY

AND HER MUTINEERS

AND

MUTINIES IN HIGHLAND REGIMENTS

EDINBURGH
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THE GOOD SHIP BOUNTY AND HER MUTINEERS.

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CHAPTER I.

OFF TO OTAHEITE.

This is one of the saddest and most eventful stories of mercantile enterprise. It resulted from an attempt to find cheap food for slaves in the days when good King George III. was a leading controller of the destinies of Great Britain. How much it will tell to the advantage of that golden, olden time, is an inference which must be left to the discernment of the readers of it. We cannot now greatly admire a good many of the doings of those times.

In the year of grace 1787, seventeen years after Captain Cook returned from his first voyage, the London merchants and planters "interested in the West Indian possessions," as Sir John Barrow writes, or, as people in our day would say, the slaveholders in the capital of England, represented to George III. that the bread-fruit tree of Otaheite was an article which would constitute cheap enough and good enough food for their human property in the West Indies. His Majesty, after hearing what they had to say, thought so too, and graciously ordered means to be taken for the procuring of this benefit, supposed to be essential for the good of the inhabitants of those islands. A vessel was purchased and put into ship-shape for this benevolent object at Deptford, a royal dockyard about a mile west of Greenwich, which had been established by Henry VIII. in the fourth year of his reign. Sir Joseph Banks, renowned for his ignorance of Greek and his great learning in botany—"Here is Banks," said some of his fellow-students at Oxford, "but he knows nothing of Greek"—made all the arrangements for the procuring and transhipment of the economical plants. Mr Banks had been one of the naturalists who sailed under Captain Cook from Plymouth

Sound in August 1768. An account of his life, a most instructive one, must be looked for elsewhere, but he may be mentioned here as one of those students who learn to look out of themselves, a most desirable accomplishment, not taught by Oxford tutors in those days, nor by very many tutors of any name in these days of ours. But Mr Banks had taught himself a singularly useful lesson, which one of the wishes of the compiler of this book is to teach his readers — many of them, he trusts, youthful, beginning to learn the lessons of life. Banks took to a subject, and he worked it out. This kind of undertaking keeps men well and wisely employed. In literary life, as in all other kinds of life, a speciality is the thing to be desired and attained. A man who can do all things can, as a rule, do little or nothing worth being remembered. The following quotation from the "Penny Cyclopædia," one of the best books of the kind ever published, but, like all books of its sort, apt to get a good deal out of date, is full of the instructions a great many people of the thinking and talking order need. The quotation is: "Sir Everard Home, in the Hunterian Oration delivered in the theatre of the College of Surgeons, February 14, 1822, informs us that the first part of young Banks's education was under a private tutor; at nine years of age he was sent to Harrow School, and was removed when thirteen to Eton. He is described, in a letter from his tutor, as being well-disposed and good-tempered, but so immoderately fond of play that his attention could not be fixed to study. When fourteen his tutor had, for the first time, the satisfaction of finding him reading during his hours of leisure. This sudden turn he, at a later time, explained to Sir Everard Home. One fine summer evening he had bathed in the river as usual, with other boys, but having stayed a long time in the water, he found when he came to dress himself that all his companions were gone: he was walking leisurely along a lane, the sides of which were richly enamelled with flowers; he stopped, and looking round, involuntarily exclaimed, 'How beautiful!' After some reflection, he said to himself, 'It is surely more natural that I should be taught to know all these productions of Nature, in preference to Greek and Latin; but the latter is my father's command, and it is my duty to obey him. I will, however, make myself acquainted with all these different plants for my own pleasure and gratification.' He began immediately to teach himself botany; and, for want of more able tutors, submitted to be instructed by the women employed in culling simples, as it is termed, to supply the druggists' and apothecaries' shops, paying sixpence for every material piece of information. While at home for the ensuing holidays,

he found in his mother's dressing-room, to his inexpressible delight, a book in which all the plants he had met with were not only described, but represented by engravings. This, which proved to be 'Gerard's Herbal,' although one of the boards was lost and several of the leaves torn out, he carried with him to school. He left Eton School in his eighteenth year, and was entered a gentleman-commoner at Christ Church (Oxford) in December 1760, just before he was eighteen. His love of botany, which commenced at school, increased at the University, and then his mind warmly embraced all the other branches of natural history. His ardour for the acquirement of botanical knowledge was so great that, finding no lectures were given on that subject, he applied to Dr Sibthorpe, the botanical professor, for permission to procure a proper person, whose renumeration was to fall entirely upon the students who formed his class. This arrangement was acceded to, and a sufficient number of students having set down their names, he went to Cambridge and brought back with him Mr Israel Lyons, a botanist and astronomer. This gentleman, many years after, procured, through Mr Banks's interest, the appointment of astronomer to the voyage towards the North Pole, under Captain Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave. Mr Banks soon made himself known in the University, by his superior knowledge in natural history. 'He once told me in conversation,' says Sir Everard Home, 'that when he first went to Oxford, if he happened to come into any party of students in which they were discussing questions respecting Greek authors, some of them would call out (a manifestation of the wisdom of such students already referred to), 'Here is Banks, but he knows nothing of Greek.' To this rebuke he made no reply, but said to himself, 'I will very soon excel you all in another kind of knowledge, in my mind of infinitely greater importance;' and not long after, when any of them wanted to clear up a point of natural history, they said, 'We must go to Banks.'"

Now this bit of Cyclopædia writing is a very good picture in its way, and sets us on in our story of the Mutiny of the Bounty with a vivid enough sense of the man who made the arrangements necessary for supplying the holders of slaves in the West Indian islands with cheap food for their slaves, above a hundred years ago. The ship was named 'The Bounty' by him; and he recommended to the command of her Lieutenant Bligh, a Cornishman, who had sailed with Captain Cook. She was of burden about 250 tons, and the following was the establishment of men she sailed with under Lieutenant Bligh: James Fryer, master; Thomas Ledward, acting surgeon; David

Nelson, botanist; William Peckover, gunner; William Cole, boatswain; William Purcell, carpenter; William Elphinstone, master's mate; Thomas Hayward, John Hallet, midshipmen; John Norton, Peter Lenkletter, quarter-masters; Lawrence Lebogue, sailmaker; John Smith, Thomas Hall, cooks; George Simpson, quarter-master's mate; Robert Tinkler, a boy; Robert Lamb, butcher; Mr Samuel, clerk; Fletcher Christian, master's mate; Peter Heywood, Edward Young, George Stewart, midshipmen; Charles Churchill, master-at-arms; John Mills, gunner's mate; James Morrison, boatswain's mate; Thomas Burkitt, Matthew Quintal, John Sumner, John Millward, William M'Koy, Henry Hillbrant, Michael Byrne, William Musprat, Alexander Smith, John Williams, Thomas Ellison, Isaac Martin, Richard Skinner, Matthew Thompson, able seamen; William Brown, gardener; Joseph Coleman, armourer; Charles Norman, carpenter's mate; Thomas M'Intosh, carpenter's crew. David Nelson, who had served as botanist in Captain Cook's last expedition, and William Brown, his assistant, were recommended by Sir Joseph Banks as skilful and careful men, who could be safely trusted with the management of the bread-fruit plants which were to be carried to the West Indies, and others which were to be brought to England for his Majesty's garden at Kew. A description of the bread-fruit plant given by that doughty old commander, William Dampier, towards the close of the seventeenth century, may be repeated here. He describes it thus: "The bread-fruit, as we call it, grows on a large tree, as big and high as our largest apple-trees; it hath a spreading head, full of branches and dark leaves. The fruit grows on the boughs like apples; it is as big as a penny loaf, when wheat is at five shillings the bushel; it is of a round shape, and hath a thick, tough rind. When the fruit is ripe, it is yellow and soft, and the taste is sweet and pleasant. The natives of Guam use it for bread. They gather it, when full grown, while it is green and hard; then they bake it in an oven, which scorcheth the rind and makes it black; but they scrape off the outside black crust, and there remains a tender, thin crust; and the inside is soft, tender, and white, like the crumb of a penny loaf. There is neither seed nor stone in the inside, but all is of a pure substance like bread. It must be eaten new; for if it is kept above twenty-four hours, it grows harsh and choaky, but is very pleasant before it is too stale. This fruit lasts in season eight months in the year, during which the natives eat no other sort of food of bread kind. I did never see of this fruit anywhere but here. The natives told us that there is plenty of this fruit growing on the rest of the Ladrone Islands;

and I did never hear of it anywhere else." This tropical tree can be kept alive by artificial heat in England, but with difficulty. The natives of the Moluccas Islands use its leaves as tablecloths. It is valuable for many other purposes,—good cloths, for example, being manufactured from its inner bark.*

It was, then, to secure for other climes, in which it could not grow, such a plant of renown that an event occurred which interested the British public deeply at the time it took place, and which has human interest abundantly sufficient to render a narrative of it still attractive.

The Bounty cleared out from Spithead in dull December. It was on the 23d day of that month, in the year 1787. Three days after it sailed, a gale began to blow from the east, which continued three days, and which greatly damaged the ship. The square-yards, it was reported, and spars out of the starboard main chains, were broken by one sea. Another stove all the boats. Casks of beer which had been lashed on the deck, were washed overboard; and great was the toil to secure the boats from being all of them swept into the sea. A great deal of the bread on board was so damaged as to be rendered uneatable. The sea stove in the stern of the Bounty, and filled her cabin with brine. She had to touch at some available place, and Bligh put in at Teneriffe on the 5th of January, thirteen days after he had sailed. It is a dreary kind of work this weathering and finding one's way out of a merciless storm at sea, but it has to be done. The cold, the care, and the doubt, the firm sternly possessed look of the captain and his subordinates, as well as the willing, weary labour of the hands under them, are not easily forgotten by any grateful human being who has ever felt his life, fortune, and the prospects of his family dependent on their knowledge and nerve. At Teneriffe, the Bounty was put to rights, "refitted and refreshed," as Sir John Barrow says, and she sailed again, after five days' detention.

"I now," says Captain Bligh, in that interesting narrative of his, which all who tell the wonderful tale of the adventures of him, and the mutineers he failed to control, simply repeat, with slight attempts at variation,—"I now divided the people into three watches, and gave the charge of the third watch to Mr Fletcher Christian, one of the mates. I have always considered this a desirable regulation when circumstances will admit of it, and I am persuaded that unbroken rest not only contributes much towards the health of the ship's company, but enables them more readily to exert themselves in cases of sudden

* For a full scientific account of the bread-fruit tree, see *Botanical Magazine*, vol. lv., pp. 2869-2871. It is from the able pen of Sir W. Hooker, and is illustrated with three plates.

emergency." It is not easy, by sea or land, for people who have to toil to get "unbroken rest;" and Captain Bligh was in very needful self-defence telling his own story, but we must proceed along with him. He was eager to sail away to Otaheite with as little delay as wind and weather would allow; but the late storm had seriously diminished his supply of provisions. So all hands were put under a deduction of a third of the bread they had bargained for. As a precaution for their health in the circumstances, Captain Bligh resolved to purify the water they drank, through filtering stones he had procured at Teneriffe. "I now," says he, "made the ship's company acquainted with the object of the voyage, and gave assurances of the certainty of promotion to every one whose endeavours should merit it." "Nothing indeed," Sir John Barrow remarks, "seemed to be neglected on the part of the commander to make his officers and men comfortable and happy. He was himself a thorough-bred sailor, and availed himself of every possible means of preserving the health of his crew. Continued rain and a close atmosphere had covered everything in the ship with mildew. She was therefore aired below with fires, and frequently sprinkled with vinegar, and every interval of dry weather was taken advantage of to open all the hatchways, and clean the ship, and to have all the people's wet things washed and dried. With these precautions to secure health, they passed the hazy and sultry atmosphere of the low latitudes without a single complaint."

On Sunday, the 2d of March, Captain Bligh observes: "After seeing that every person was clean, divine service was performed, according to my usual custom. On this day I gave to Mr Fletcher Christian, whom I had before desired to take charge of the third watch, a written order to act as lieutenant."

Having reached as far as the latitude of 36° south, on the 9th of March, "the change of temperature," he reports, "began now to be sensibly felt, there being a variation in the thermometer since yesterday of eight degrees. That the people might not suffer from their own negligence, I gave orders for their light tropical clothing to be put by, and made them dress in a manner more suited to a cold climate. I had provided for this before I left England, by giving directions for such clothes to be purchased as would be found necessary. On this day, on a complaint of the master, I found it necessary to punish Matthew Quintal, one of the seamen, with two dozen lashes, for insolence and mutinous behaviour. Before this I had not had occasion to punish any person on board." Bligh did not yield to the temptation which New Year's Harbour, in Staten Island, near Cape Horn,

offered a sea-worn captain to seek temporary rest from his tossings. His men were in good health, and he determined to defer delay until he reached Otaheite, in a rough way about a hundred degrees farther west, and nearly forty degrees north —a considerable distance to think of in laying aside all thoughts of refreshment. But the risk was safe under a commander like Captain Bligh. In defence of the memory of others, there will be occasion to criticise his conduct before the story of this mutiny is all told; but thus far he had taken such care of the health of his ship's company as to render any stay in a cold, inhospitable region near Tierra del Fuego undesirable. They encountered terrible weather off Cape Horn. A constant fire on board day and night was found necessary to mollify the benumbing influence of the wind, hail, and sleet; and one of the watch had constantly to keep drying the wet clothes of the men who could get a chance of undressing. This state of things in the Southern Ocean lasted for nine days. The ship began to exhibit the natural results of such tearing, wearing, stormy weather. It required constant pumping. The decks became leaky; and Captain Bligh allotted the great cabin to those who had wet berths. There they hung their hammocks in circumstances very discouraging for either keeping awake or going to sleep. They were being driven back by the storm every day; and to persist in attempting a passage by this route, the route which had been prescribed by government, began to seem hopeless. At that season of the year, and in such weather, the Society Islands were difficult to reach with the means of navigation Captain Bligh, or any other captain, had at command in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. After struggling for thirty days in a tempestuous ocean, the plucky, proud, and, it is to be feared, overbearing commander of the Bounty, resolved to turn right round about, and bear away eastward towards the Cape of Good Hope, daringly and almost despairingly, in a reverse direction, across the South Atlantic. When the helm was put thus a-weather, the captain tells us, every person on board rejoiced.

They arrived at the Cape on the 23d of May, and, having remained there thirty-eight days to refit the ship, replenish provisions, and refresh the crew, they sailed again on the 1st of July, and anchored in Adventure Bay, in Van Diemen's Land (the island now called Tasmania), on the 20th August. Here, we are told, they remained, taking in wood and water, till the 4th September, and on the evening of the 25th October they saw Otaheite, and the next day came to anchor in Matavai Bay, after a distance which the ship had run over, by the log, since leaving England, of 27,086

miles, being on an average 108 miles each twenty-four hours.

The people inquired after Captain Cook, Sir Joseph Banks, and others of their former friends. "There appeared," says Bligh, "among the natives in general, great goodwill towards us, and they seemed to be much rejoiced at our arrival. The whole day we experienced no instance of dishonesty; and we were so much crowded that I could not undertake to remove to a more proper station, without danger of disobliging our visitors by desiring them to leave the ship."

Otoo, the chief of the district, on hearing of the arrival of the Bounty, sent a small pig and a young plantain tree as tokens of friendship, worth noticing as characteristic of the country and the times. Provisions were now plenteous—not all made up of the small pig and the young plantain tree—but, however supplied, every man on board had "as much as he could consume"—a great deal too much, as would seem to less accomplished writers. Captain Bligh went on shore with the chief, Poeeno, and passed through a shady walk, the shadows being thrown by bread-fruit trees. Poeeno's wife and sister were busy dyeing a bit of cloth red. They requested, with Otaheitan politeness, the captain to sit down on a mat, and offered him refreshments. Some neighbours called to congratulate him on the fact of his arrival at their island, and, as is duly reported, behaved with great decorum and attention. On taking leave, says Bligh, "the ladies (for they deserve to be called such from their natural and unaffected manners, and elegance of deportment) got up, and taking some of their finest cloth and a mat, clothed me in the Otaheitan fashion, and then said, 'We will go with you to your boat;' and, each taking me by the hand, amidst a great crowd, led me to the water side, and then took their leave." In this day's walk, he had the satisfaction of seeing that the island had been benefited by the former visits of Captain Cook. Two shaddocks were brought to him, a fruit which they had not till Cook introduced it; and among the articles which they brought off to the ship and offered for sale, were capsicums, pumpkins, and two young goats.

David Nelson, the botanist, and William Brown, his assistant, were sent out to look for young bread-fruit plants. They found them in abundance, and the natives made no objection to their gathering as many as they liked. Nelson found two fine shaddock trees which he had planted in 1777; they were loaded with fruit, which was not quite ripe. Presents were given to Otoo, the chief of Matavai, who had, since Cook's visit, changed his name to Tinah. He was complimented on his former kindness to the great

voyager. King George III. had sent out these valuable gifts to him; and "Will you not, Tinah," said King George's emissary, "send something to King George in return?" "Yes," said Tinah, "I will send him anything I have"—a promise he would have been sure to break, if it had been exacted to the full. He mentioned the bread-fruit tree as one of the things he possessed. This was just what Bligh was trying to lead the chief up to mention; and he remarked that King George would like the bread-fruit tree very much. So it was promised that a great many plants of it should be put on board the Bounty.

Hitherto the theftuous Otaheitans had behaved with reasonable honesty during their visits to the ship, which they constantly came to in crowds. But one day the gudgeon of the rudder belonging to the large cutter was drawn out and stolen, an event which the man stationed to take care of her should have been wide enough awake to have prevented. This and some other petty thefts, owing mainly to the man's negligence, tended rather to interrupt the good terms on which Captain Bligh stood with the chiefs. "I thought," he says, "it would have a good effect to punish the boat-keeper in their presence; and accordingly I ordered him a dozen lashes. All who attended the punishment interceded very earnestly to get it mitigated. The women showed great sympathy, and that degree of feeling," writes the gallant captain, "which characterises the amiable part of their sex." The longer they remained on the islands, our bread-fruit seekers liked the islanders and their conduct the better.

An Otaheitan Dido.

A very interesting picture of Otaheitan society as it was experienced by the first English voyagers to the island, is furnished by the following narrative, by Sir John Barrow, who, though himself not a sailor, was yet one of the best writers on seafaring subjects. It is about one of King George III.'s renowned navigators, Samuel Wallis, a painstaking, sensible, and veracious seaman, who was the first to bring down the fabulous stature of the Patagonians to its veritable height; and was the first English commander who visited Otaheite. It was he who recommended Otaheite as the station for observing the transit of Venus, in 1769. The first communication (writes our authority), which Wallis had with these people was unfortunately of a hostile nature. Having approached with his ship close to the shore, the usual symbol of peace and friendship, a branch of the plantain tree, was held up by a native in one of the numerous canoes that surrounded the ship. Great numbers, on being invited, crowded on board the stranger ship; but one of them

being butted on the haunches by a goat, and turning hastily round, perceiving it rearing on its hind legs ready to repeat the blow, was so terrified at the appearance of this strange animal, so different from any he had ever seen, that, in the moment of terror, he jumped overboard, and all the rest followed his example with the utmost precipitation.

This little incident, however, produced no mischief; but as the boats were sounding in the bay, and several canoes crowding round them, Wallis suspected the islanders had a design to attack them; and on this mere suspicion, ordered the boats by signal to come on board, "and at the same time," he says, "to intimidate the Indians, I fired a nine-pounder over their heads." This, as might have been imagined, startled the islanders, but did not prevent them from attempting immediately to cut off the cutter, as she was standing towards the ship. Several stones were thrown into this boat, on which the commanding officer fired a musket loaded with buck-shot, at the man who threw the first stone, and wounded him on the shoulder.

Finding no good anchorage at this place, the ship proceeded to another part of the island, where, on one of the boats being assailed by the Indians in two or three canoes, with their clubs and paddles in their hands, "Our people," says the commander, "being much pressed, were obliged to fire, by which one of the assailants was killed, and another much wounded." This unlucky rencontre did not, however, prevent, as soon as the ship was moored, a great number of canoes from coming off the next morning, with hogs, fowls, and fruit. A brisk traffic soon commenced, our people exchanging knives, nails, and trinkets, for more substantial articles of food, of which they were in want. Among the canoes that came out last were some double ones of very large size, with twelve or fifteen stout men in each; and it was observed that they had little on board, except a quantity of round pebble stones. Other canoes came off along with them, having only women on board; and while these females were assiduously practising their allurements, by attitudes that could not be misunderstood, with the view, as it would seem, to distract the attention of the crew, the large double canoes closed round the ship; and as these advanced, some of the men began singing, some blowing conches, and others playing on flutes. One of them with a person sitting under a canopy, approached the ship so close, as to allow this person to hand up a bunch of red and yellow feathers, making signs it was for the captain. He then put off to a little distance, and, on holding up the branch of a cocoa-nut tree, there was a universal shout from all the canoes.

which at the same moment moved towards the ship, and a shower of stones was poured into her on every side. The guard was now ordered to fire, and two of the quarter-deck guns, loaded with small shot, were fired among them at the same time, which created great terror and confusion, and caused them to retreat to a short distance. In a few minutes, however, they renewed the attack. The great guns were now ordered to be discharged among them, and also into a mass of canoes that were putting off from the shore. It is stated that, at this time, there could not be less than three hundred canoes about the ship, having on board at least two thousand men. Again they dispersed; but, having soon collected into something like order, they hoisted white streamers, and pulled towards the ship's stern, when they again began to throw stones with great force and dexterity, by the help of slings, each of the stones weighing about two pounds; and many of them wounded the people on board. At length a shot hit the canoe that apparently had the chief on board, and cut it asunder. This was no sooner observed by the rest, than they all dispersed in such haste, that in half-an-hour there was not a single canoe to be seen; and all the people who had crowded the shore fled over the hills with the utmost precipitation. What was to happen on the following day was matter of conjecture; but this point was soon decided.

"The white man landed—need the rest be told?
The new world stretch'd its dusk hand to the old."

Lieutenant Furneaux, on the next morning, landed, without opposition, close to a fine river that fell into the bay, stuck up a staff on which was hoisted a pendant, turned a turf, and by this process took possession of the island in the name of his Majesty, and called it *King George the Third's Island.* Just as he was embarking, an old man, to whom the lieutenant had given a few trifles, brought some green boughs, which he threw down at the foot of the staff, then, retiring, brought about a dozen of his countrymen, who approached the staff in a supplicating posture, then retired and brought two live hogs, which they laid down at the foot of the staff, and then began to dance. After this ceremony, the hogs were put into a canoe, and the old man carried them on board, handing up several green plantain leaves, and uttering a sentence on the delivery of each. Some presents were offered him in return; but he would accept of none.

Concluding that peace was now established, and that no further attack would be made, the boats were sent on shore the following day to get water. While the casks were filling, several natives were perceived

coming from behind the hills and through the woods, and at the same time a multitude of canoes from behind a projecting point of the bay. As these were discovered to be laden with stones, and were making towards the ship, it was concluded their intention was to try their fortune in a second grand attack. "As to shorten the contest would certainly lessen the mischief, I determined," says Captain Wallis, "to make this action decisive, and put an end to hostilities at once." Accordingly a tremendous fire was opened at once on all the groups of canoes, which had the effect of immediately dispersing them. The fire was then directed into the wood, to drive out the islanders who had assembled in large numbers, on which they all fled to the hill, where the women and children had seated themselves. Here they collected to the amount of several thousands, imagining themselves at that distance to be perfectly safe. The captain, however, ordered four shot to be fired over them, but two of the balls having fallen close to a tree where a number of them were sitting, they were so struck with terror and consternation, that in less than two minutes, not a creature was to be seen. The coast being cleared, the boats were manned and armed, and all the carpenters with their axes were sent on shore, with directions to destroy every canoe they could find; and we are told this service was effectually performed, and that more than fifty canoes, many of which were sixty feet long and three broad, and lashed together, were cut to pieces.

This act of severity must have been cruelly felt by these poor people, who without iron or any kind of tools, but such as stones, shells, teeth, and bones supplied to them, must have spent months, and probably years, in the construction of one of these extraordinary double boats.

Such was the inauspicious commencement of our acquaintance with the natives of Otaheite. Their determined hostility and perseverance in an unequal combat could only have arisen from one of two motives, —either from an opinion that a ship of such magnitude as they had never before beheld, could only be come to their coast to take their country from them; or an irresistible temptation to endeavour, at all hazards, to possess themselves of so valuable a prize. Be that as it may, the dread inspired by the effects of the cannon, and perhaps a conviction of the truth of what had been explained to them, that the "strangers wanted only provisions and water," had the effect of allaying all jealousy; for from the day of the last action, the most friendly and uninterrupted intercourse was established, and continued to the day of the Dolphin's departure; and provisions of all kinds—hogs, dogs, fruit, and

vegetables—were supplied in the greatest abundance, in exchange for pieces of iron, nails, and trinkets.

As a proof of the readiness of these simple people to forgive injuries, a poor woman, accompanied by a young man bearing a branch of the plantain tree, and another man with two hogs, approached the gunner, whom Captain Wallis had appointed to regulate the market, and, looking round on the strangers with great attention, fixing her eyes sometimes on one and sometimes on another, at length burst into tears. It appeared that her husband and three of her sons had been killed in the attack on the ship. Whilst this was under explanation, the poor creature was so affected, as to require the support of the two young men, who, from their weeping, were probably two more of her sons. When somewhat composed, she ordered the two hogs to be delivered to the gunner, and gave him her hand in token of friendship, but would accept nothing in return.

Captain Wallis was now so well satisfied that there was nothing further to apprehend from the hostility of the natives, that he sent a party up the country to cut wood, who were treated with great kindness and hospitality by all they met; and the ship was visited by persons of both sexes, who, by their dress and behaviour, appeared to be of a superior rank. Among others was a tall lady about five-and-forty years of age, of a pleasing countenance and majestic deportment. She was under no restraint, either from diffidence or fear, and conducted herself with that easy freedom which generally distinguishes conscious superiority and habitual command. She accepted some small present which the captain gave her with a good grace and much pleasure; and having observed that he was weak and suffering from ill health, she pointed to the shore, which he understood to be an invitation, and made signs that he would go thither the next morning. His visit to this lady displays so much character and good feeling, that it will best be described in the captain's own words:

"The next morning I went on shore for the first time, and my princess (or rather queen, for such by her authority she appeared to be) soon after came to me, followed by many of her attendants. As she perceived that my disorder had left me very weak, she ordered her people to take me in their arms, and carry me not only over the river, but all the way to her house; and observing that some of the people who were with me, particularly the first lieutenant and purser, had also been sick, she caused them also to be carried in the same manner, and a guard, which I had ordered out upon the occasion, followed. In our way, a vast multitude crowded about us; but upon

her waving her hand, without speaking a word, they withdrew, and left us a free passage. When we approached near her house, a great number of both sexes came out to meet her. These she presented to me, after having intimated by signs that they were her relations; and, taking hold of my hand, she made them kiss it.

"We then entered the house, which covered a piece of ground 327 feet long, and 42 feet broad. It consisted of a roof thatched with palm leaves, and raised upon thirty-nine pillars on each side, and fourteen in the middle. The ridge of the thatch, on the inside, was thirty feet high, and the sides of the house, to the edge of the roof, were twelve feet high; all below the roof being open. As soon as we entered the house, she made us sit down, and then, calling four young girls, she assisted them to take off my shoes, draw down my stockings, and pull off my coat; and then directed them to smooth down the skin, and gently chafe it with their hands. The same operation was also performed on the first lieutenant and the purser, but upon none of those who appeared to be in health. While this was doing, our surgeon, who had walked till he was very warm, took off his wig to cool and refresh himself. A sudden exclamation of one of the Indians who saw it, drew the attention of the rest; and in a moment every eye was fixed upon the prodigy, and every operation was suspended. The whole assembly stood some time motionless in silent astonishment, which could not have been more strongly expressed if they had discovered that our friend's limbs had been screwed on to the trunk. In a short time, however, the young women who were chafing us resumed their employment; and having continued about half-an-hour, they dressed us again; but in this they were, as may easily be imagined, very awkward. I found great benefit, however, from the chafing, and so did the lieutenant and the purser.

"After a little time our generous benefactress ordered some bales of Indian cloth to be brought out, with which she clothed me, and all that were with me, according to the fashion of the country. At first I declined the acceptance of this favour; but being unwilling not to seem pleased with what was intended to please me, I acquiesced. When we went away, she ordered a very large sow, big with young, to be taken down to the boat, and accompanied us thither herself. She had given directions to her people to carry me, as they had done when I came; but as I chose rather to walk, she took me by the arm, and whenever we came to a plash of water or dirt, she lifted me over with as little trouble as it would have cost me to have lifted over a child, if I had been well."

The following morning Cap-

tain Wallis sent her a present by the gunner, who found her in the midst of an entertainment given to at least a thousand people. The messes were put into shells of cocoa-nuts, and the shells into wooden trays, like those used by our butchers, and she distributed them with her own hands to the guests, who were seated in rows in the open air, round the great house. When this was done, she sat down herself upon a place somewhat elevated above the rest, and two women, placing themselves one on each side of her, fed her, she opening her mouth as they brought their hands up with the food. From this time provisions were sent to market in the greatest abundance. The queen frequently visited the captain on board, and always with a present; but she never condescended to barter, nor would she accept of any return.

One day, after visiting her at her house, the captain at parting made her comprehend by signs that he intended to quit the island in seven days: she immediately understood his meaning, and by similar signs expressed her wish that he should stay twenty days; that he should go with her a couple of days' journey into the country, stay there a few days, return with plenty of hogs and poultry, and then go away; but on persisting in his first intention she burst into tears, and it was not without great difficulty that she could be pacified. The next time that she went on board, Captain Wallis ordered a good dinner for her entertainment, and those chiefs who were of her party; but the queen would neither eat nor drink. As she was going over the ship's side, she asked, by signs, whether he still persisted in leaving the island at the time he had fixed, and on receiving an answer in the affirmative, she expressed her regret by a flood of tears; and as soon as her passion subsided, she told the captain that she would come on board again the following day.

Accordingly, the next day she again visited the ship twice, bringing each time large presents of hogs, fowls, and fruits. The captain, after expressing his sense of her kindness and bounty, announced his intention of sailing the following morning. This, as usual, threw her into tears, and, after recovering herself, she made anxious inquiry when he should return; he said, in fifty days, with which she seemed to be satisfied. "She stayed on board," says Captain Wallis, "till night, and it was then with the greatest difficulty that she could be prevailed upon to go on shore. When she was told that the boat was ready, she threw herself down upon the arm-chest, and wept a long time, with an excess of passion that could not be pacified; at last, however, with the greatest reluctance, she was prevailed upon to go into the boat, and was followed by her attendants."

The next day, while the ship was unmooring, the whole beach was covered with the inhabitants. The queen came down, and, having ordered a double canoe to be launched, was rowed off by her own people, followed by fifteen or sixteen other canoes. She soon made her appearance on board; but, not being able to speak, she sat down and gave vent to her passion by weeping. Shortly after, a breeze springing up, the ship made sail; and finding it now necessary to return into her canoe, "she embraced us all," says Captain Wallis, "in the most affectionate manner, and with many tears; all her attendants also expressed great sorrow at our departure. In a few minutes she came into the bow of her canoe, where she sat weeping with inconsolable sorrow. I gave her many things which I thought would be of great use to her, and some for ornament: she silently accepted of all, but took little notice of anything. About ten o'clock we had got without the reef, and a fresh breeze springing up, our Indian friends, and particularly the queen, once more bade us farewell, with such tenderness of affection and grief, as filled both my heart and my eyes."

This Otaheitan lady did not sink under her sorrows. Far fewer ladies do than romancers have made the wide world to believe. Virgil's account of the conduct of *Miserrima Dido* is, like his hits at that wonderful old infidel, Mezentius—*contemptor deum*—a good way off from the kind of male and female human beings we have to meet in these last days, a people who are neither Otaheitans nor Romans. Let the readers of this story find out all about our *Miserrima Dido*, and not believe in her burning herself. Let them rather believe that, as Sir John Barrow tells us, while "the tender passion had certainly caught hold of one or both of these worthies, and if her majesty's language had been as well understood by Captain Wallis, as that of Dido was by Æneas, when pressing him to stay with her, there is no doubt it would have been found not less pathetic:

> "Nec te noster amor, nec te data dextera quondam,
> Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?"

This lady did not sink, like the "miserrima Dido," under her griefs; on the contrary, we find her in full activity and animation, and equally generous to Captain Cook and his party, under the name of Oberea, who, it now appeared, was no queen, but whose husband they discovered was uncle to the young king, then a minor, but from whom she was separated. She soon evinced a partiality for Mr Banks, though not quite so strong as that for Wallis; but it appears to have been mutual, until an unlucky discovery took place, that she had, at her command, a stout, strong-boned

cavaliere servente; added to which, a theft, rather of an amusing nature, contributed for a time to create a coolness, and somewhat to disturb the good understanding that had subsisted between them. It happened that a party, consisting of Cook, Banks, Solander, and three or four others, were benighted at a distance from the anchorage. Mr Banks, says Captain Cook, thought himself fortunate in being offered a place by Oberea, in her own canoe, and wishing his friends a good-night, took his leave. He went to rest early, according to the custom of the country; and taking off his clothes, as was his constant practice, the nights being hot, Oberea kindly insisted upon taking them into her own custody, for otherwise, she said, they would certainly be stolen. Mr Banks having, as he thought, so good a safeguard, resigned himself to sleep with all imaginable tranquillity; but awakening about eleven o'clock, and wanting to get up, he searched for his clothes where he had seen them carefully deposited by Oberea when he lay down to sleep, and perceived, to his sorrow and surprise, that they were missing. He immediately awakened Oberea, who, starting up and hearing his complaint, ordered lights, and prepared in great haste to recover what had been lost. Tootahah (the regent) slept in the next canoe, and, being soon alarmed, he came to them, and set out with Oberea in search of the thief. Mr Banks was not in a condition to go with them, as of his apparel scarcely anything was left him but his breeches. In about half-an-hour, his two noble friends returned, but without having obtained any intelligence of his clothes, or of the thief. Where Cook and Solander had disposed of themselves, he did not know; but hearing music, which was sure to bring a crowd together, in which there was a chance of his associates being found, he rose, and made the best of his way towards it, and joined his party, as Cook says, "more than half naked, and told us his melancholy story."

It was some consolation to find that his friends were fellow-sufferers, Cook having lost his stockings, which had been stolen from under his head, though he had never been asleep, and his associates their jackets. At daybreak Oberea brought to Mr Banks some of the native clothes; "so that when he came to us," says Cook, "he made a most motley appearance, half Indian and half English." Such an adventure must have been highly amusing to him who was the object of it, when the inconvenience had been removed, as every one will admit who knew the late venerable President of the Royal Society. He never doubted, however, that Oberea was privy to the theft; and there was strong suspicion of her having some of the articles in her custody. Being aware that this

feeling existed, she absented herself for some time; and when she again appeared, she said a favourite of hers had taken them away, whom she had beaten and dismissed; "but she seemed conscious," says Cook, "that she had no right to be believed; she discovered the strongest signs of fear, yet she surmounted it with astonishing resolution, and was very pressing to be allowed to sleep with her attendants in Mr Banks's tent: in this, however, she was not gratified." Sir Joseph might have thought that, if he complied with her request, the other articles of his dress might be in danger of following what was already stolen.

This may do for an account of the upper society of the folk, with whom those young men had to do. Let us, however, get on with our story. The natives did not make themselves disagreeable. Every house offered a kind reception. The Otaheitans proved themselves free equally from forwardness and from formality, and there was a candour and sincerity about them, which was quite delightful. When they offered refreshments, if these were not accepted, the simple natives did not offer them a second time. They had not the least idea of any ceremonious refusal. Would they not have suited J. J. Rousseau! "Having one day," says the self-defending Bligh, "exposed myself too much in the sun, I was taken ill, on which all the powerful people, both men and women, collected round me, offering their assistance. For this short illness I was made ample amends by the pleasure I received from the attention and appearance of affection in these kind people."

On the 9th December, the surgeon of the Bounty died from the effects of intemperance and indolence. This unfortunate man is represented to have been in a constant state of intoxication, and was so averse from any kind of exercise, that he never could be prevailed on to take half-a-dozen turns upon the deck at a time in the whole course of the voyage. Captain Bligh had obtained permission to bury him on shore; and on going with the chief Tinah to the spot intended for his burial-place, "I found," says he, "the natives had already begun to dig his grave." Tinah asked if they were doing it right? "There," says he, "the sun rises, and there it sets." Whether the idea of making the grave east and west is their own, or whether they learnt it from the Spaniards, who buried the captain of their ship on the island in 1774, there was no means of ascertaining; but it was certain they had no intimation of that kind from anybody belonging to the Bounty. When the funeral took place, the chiefs and many of the natives attended the ceremony, and showed great attention during the service. Many of the principal natives attended divine service on Sundays, and behaved

with great decency. Some of the women at one time betrayed an inclination to laugh at the general responses; but the captain says, on looking at them, they appeared much ashamed.

The delightful border of low land, of the breadth of about three miles, between the sea-coast and the foot of the hills, which consisted of a country well covered with bread-fruit and cocoa trees, was strewed with houses in which were swarms of children playing about. "It is delightful," Bligh observes, "to see the swarms of little children that are everywhere to be seen employed at their several amusements; some flying kites, some swinging in ropes suspended from the boughs of trees, others walking on stilts, some wrestling, and others playing all manner of antic tricks, such as are common to boys in England. The little girls have also their amusements, consisting generally of *heivahs* or dances." On an evening, just before sunset, the whole beach abreast the ship is described as being like a parade, crowded with men, women, and children, who go on with their sports and amusements till nearly dark, when every one peaceably returns to his home. At such times, we are told, from three to four hundred people are assembled together, and all happily diverted, good-humoured, and affectionate to one another, without a single quarrel having ever happened to disturb the harmony that existed among these amiable people. Both boys and girls are said to be handsome and very sprightly.

It did not appear that much pains were taken in their plantations, except those of the *ava* and the cloth-plant; many of the latter are fenced with stone, and surrounded with a ditch. In fact, Nature had done so much for them, that they have no great occasion to use exertion in obtaining a sufficient supply of either food or raiment. Yet when Bligh commenced taking up the bread-fruit plants, he derived much assistance from the natives in collecting and pruning them, which they understood perfectly well. The behaviour of these people on all occasions was highly deserving of praise.

CHAPTER II.

THE MUTINY OF THE BOUNTY.

One morning, at the relief of the watch, the small cutter was missing. The ship's company were immediately mustered, when it appeared that three men were absent. They had taken with

them eight stand of arms and ammunition; but what their plan was, or which way they had gone, no one on board seemed to have the least knowledge. Information being given of the route they had taken, the master was despatched to search for the cutter, and one of the chiefs went with him; but before they had got half-way, they met the boat with five of the natives, who were bringing her back to the ship. For this service they were handsomely rewarded. The chiefs promised to use every possible means to detect and bring back the deserters, which, in a few days, some of the islanders had so far accomplished as to seize and bind them, but let them loose again on a promise that they would return to their ship, which they did not exactly fulfil, but gave themselves up soon after on a search being made for them.

A few days after this, a much more serious occurrence happened, that was calculated to give to the commander great concern. The wind had blown fresh in the night, and at daylight it was discovered that the cable, by which the ship rode, had been cut near the water's edge, in such a manner that only one strand remained whole. While they were securing the ship, Tinah came on board; and though there was no reason whatever to suppose otherwise than that he was perfectly innocent of the transaction, nevertheless, says the commander, "I spoke to him in a very peremptory manner, and insisted upon his discovering and bringing to me the offender. He promised to use his utmost endeavours to discover the guilty person. The next morning he and his wife came to me, and assured me that they had made the strictest inquiries without success. This was not at all satisfactory, and I behaved towards them with great coolness, at which they were very much distressed; and the lady at length gave vent to her sorrow by tears. I could no longer keep up the appearance of mistrusting them; but I earnestly recommended to them, as they valued the King of England's friendship, that they would exert their utmost endeavours to find out the offenders, which they faithfully promised to do."

Bligh seems from this time to have begun to suspect the loyalty of his men. He set up in his own mind the theory that their purpose was to remain in Otaheite, among its pleasant society—at least, he wrote so in his defence. He writes, however, that he did not entertain any thought of the kind, nor did the possibility of it enter into his ideas. This, in consideration of all that happened afterwards, looks very much like an after-thought.

The Bounty arrived October 26th, 1788, and remained till the 4th of April 1789—a length of time which would require to be economically accounted for in days like ours. Bligh says,

dating March 31st, "To-day, all the plants were on board, being in seven hundred and seventy-four pots, thirty-nine tubs, and twenty-four boxes. The number of bread-fruit plants was one thousand and fifteen, besides which we had collected a number of other plants: the *Avee*, which is one of the finest flavoured fruits in the world; the *Ayyah*, which is not so rich, but of a fine flavour and very refreshing; the *Rattah*, not much unlike a chestnut, which grows on a large tree in great quantities; they are singly in large pods, from one to two inches broad, and may be eaten raw or boiled in the same manner as Windsor beans, and so dressed are equally good; the *Orai-aò*, which is a very superior kind of plantain. All these I was particularly recommended to collect by my worthy friend, Sir Joseph Banks."

Sir John Barrow goes on to relate another incident, to show the grief these poor people exhibited when losing a friend. He says that while these active preparations for departure were going on, the good chief Tinah, on bringing a present for King George, could not refrain from shedding tears. During the remainder of their stay, there appeared among the natives an evident degree of sorrow that they were soon to leave them, which they showed by a more than usual degree of kindness and attention. The above-mentioned excellent chief, with his wife, brothers, and sister, requested to remain on board for the night previous to the sailing of the Bounty. The ship was crowded with the natives, and she was loaded with presents of cocoa-nuts, plantains, bread-fruits, hogs, and goats. Contrary to what had been the usual practice, there was this evening no dancing or mirth on the beach, such as they had long been accustomed to; but all was silent.

At sunset, the boat returned from landing Tinah and his wife, and the ship made sail, bidding farewell to Otaheite, where, Bligh observes, "for twenty-three weeks we had been treated with the utmost affection and regard, which seemed to increase in proportion to our stay. That we were not insensible to their kindness, the events that followed more than sufficiently prove; for to the friendly and endearing behaviour of these people may be ascribed the motives for that event which effected the ruin of an expedition that there was every reason to hope would have been completed in the most fortunate manner."

The morning after their departure, they got sight of Huaheine, and a double canoe soon coming alongside, containing ten natives; among them was a young man who recollected Captain Bligh, and called him by name, having known him when there in the year 1780, with Captain Cook in the Re-

solution. Several other canoes arrived with hogs, yams, and other provisions, which they purchased. This person confirmed the account that had already been received of Omai, and said, that of all the animals which had been left with Omai, the mare only remained alive; that the seeds and plants had been all destroyed, except one tree, but of what kind that was he could not satisfactorily explain. A few days after sailing from this island, the weather became squally, and a thick body of black clouds collected in the east. A water-spout was in a short time seen at no great distance from the ship, which appeared to great advantage from the darkness of the clouds behind it. The upper part is described as being about two feet in diameter, and the lower about eight inches. It advanced rapidly towards the ship, when it was deemed expedient to alter the course, and to take in all the sails, except the foresail; soon after which it passed within ten yards of the stern, making a rustling noise, but without their feeling the least effect from its being so near. The rate at which it travelled was judged to be about ten miles per hour, going towards the west, in the direction of the wind; and in a quarter of an hour after passing the ship it dispersed. As they passed several low islands, the natives of one of them came out in their canoes, and it was observed that they all spoke the language of Otaheite. Presents of iron, beads, and a looking-glass, were given to them; but it was observed that the chief, on leaving the ship, took possession of everything that had been distributed. One of them showed some signs of dissatisfaction, but after a little altercation, they joined noses and were reconciled.

The Bounty anchored at Anamooka on the 23d April; and an old lame man, named Tepa, whom Bligh had known here in 1777, and immediately recollected, came on board along with others from different islands in the vicinity. This man having formerly been accustomed to the English manner of speaking their language, the commander found he could converse with him tolerably well. He told him that the cattle which had been left at Tongataboo had all bred, and that the old ones were yet living. Being desirous of seeing the ship, he and his companions were taken below, and the bread-fruit and other plants were shown to them, on seeing which they were greatly surprised.

"I landed," says Bligh, "in order to procure some bread-fruit plants to supply the place of one that was dead, and two or three others that were a little sickly. I walked to the west part of the bay, where some plants and seeds had been sown by Captain Cook; and had the satisfaction to see, in a plantation close by, about twenty fine

pine-apple plants, but no fruit, this not being the proper season. They told me that they had eaten many of them, that they were very fine and large, and that at Tongataboo there were great numbers."

Numerous were the marks of mourning with which these people disfigured themselves; such as bloody temples, their heads deprived of most of their hair; and, what was worse, almost all of them with the loss of some of their fingers. Several fine boys, not above six years of age, had lost both their little fingers; and some of the men had parted with the middle finger of the right hand.

A brisk trade soon began to be carried on for yams. Some plantains and bread-fruit were likewise brought on board, but no hogs. Some of the sailing canoes which arrived in the course of the day, were large enough to contain not less than ninety passengers. From these the officers and crew purchased hogs, dogs, fowls, and shaddocks; yams very fine and large—one of them actually weighed above forty-five pounds. The crowd of natives had become so great the next day, Sunday 26th, that it became impossible to do anything. The watering party were therefore ordered to go on board, and it was determined to sail. The ship was accordingly unmoored and got under way. A grapnel, however, had been stolen; and Bligh informed the chiefs that were still on board, that unless it was returned, they must remain in the ship; at which they were surprised and not a little alarmed. "I detained them," he says, "till sunset, when their uneasiness increased to such a degree that they began to beat themselves about the face and eyes, and some of them cried bitterly. As this distress was more than the grapnel was worth, I could not think of detaining them longer, and called their canoes alongside. I told them that they were at liberty to go, and made each of them a present of a hatchet, a saw, with some knives, gimlets, and nails. This unexpected present, and the sudden change in their situation, affected them not less with joy than they had before been with apprehension. They were unbounded in their acknowledgments; and I have little doubt but that we parted better friends than if the affair had never happened."

From this island the ship stood to the northward all night, with light winds; and on the next day, the 27th, at noon, they were between the islands Tofoa and Kotoo.

"Thus far," says Bligh, "the voyage had advanced in a course of uninterrupted prosperity, and had been attended with many circumstances equally pleasing and satisfactory. A very different scene was now to be experienced. A conspiracy had been formed, which was to render all our past labour produc-

tive only of extreme misery and distress. The means had been concerted and prepared with so much secrecy and circumspection, that no one circumstance appeared to occasion the smallest suspicion of the impending calamity, the result of an act of piracy the most consummate and atrocious that was probably ever committed."

How far Bligh was justified in ascribing the calamity to a conspiracy, will be seen hereafter. We now proceed to give in detail the facts of the mutinous proceedings, as stated by Captain Bligh in his narrative.

"In the morning of the 28th April," he reports, "the northwestmost of the Friendly Islands, called Tofoa, bearing north-east, I was steering to the westward with a ship in the most perfect order, all my plants in the most perfect condition, all my men and officers in good health; and, in short, everything to flatter and ensure my most sanguine expectations. On leaving the deck, I gave directions for the course to be steered during the night. The master had the first watch; the gunner the middle watch; and Mr Christian the morning watch. This was the turn of duty for the night.

"Just before sun-rising, on Tuesday the 28th, while I was yet asleep, Mr Christian, officer of the watch, Charles Churchill, ship's corporal, John Mills, gunner's mate, and Thomas Burkitt, seaman, came into my cabin, and seizing me, tied my hands with a cord behind my back, threatening me with instant death if I spoke or made the least noise. I called, however, as loud as I could, in hopes of assistance; but they had already secured the officers who were not of their party, by placing sentinels at their doors. There were three men at my cabin door besides the four within. Christian had only a cutlass in his hand, the others had muskets and bayonets. I was hauled out of bed, and forced on deck in my shirt, suffering great pain from the tightness with which they had tied my hands. I demanded the reason of such violence, but received no other answer than abuse for not holding my tongue. The master, the gunner, Mr Elphinstone, the master's mate, and Nelson, were kept confined below; and the fore-hatchway was guarded by sentinels. The boatswain and carpenter, and also Mr Samuel, the clerk, were allowed to come upon deck, where they saw me standing abaft the mizzen-mast, with my hands tied behind my back, under a guard with Christian at their head. The boatswain was ordered to hoist the launch out, with a threat, if he did not do it instantly, to take care of himself. When the boat was out, Mr Hayward, and Mr Hallet, two of the midshipmen, and Mr Samuel were ordered into it. I demanded what their intention was in giving this order, and endeavoured to persuade the

people near me not to persist in such acts of violence; but it was to no effect—'Hold your tongue, sir, or you are dead this instant,' was constantly repeated to me."

The master by this time had sent to request that he might come on deck, which was permitted; but he was soon ordered back again to his cabin.

"I continued my endeavours to turn the tide of affairs, when Christian changed the cutlass which he had in his hand, for a bayonet that was brought to him, and, holding me with a strong gripe by the cord that tied my hands, he threatened, with many oaths, to kill me immediately, if I would not be quiet.

"The boatswain and seamen who were to go in the boat, were allowed to collect twine, canvas, lines, sails, cordage, an eight-and-twenty gallon cask of water; and Mr Samuel got one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, with a small quantity of rum and wine, also a quadrant and compass; but he was forbidden, on pain of death, to touch either map, ephemeris, book of astronomical observations, sextant, time-keeper, or any of my surveys or drawings.

"The mutineers having forced those of the seamen whom they meant to get rid of into the boat, Christian directed a dram to be served to each of his own crew. I then unhappily saw that nothing could be done to effect the recovery of the ship: there was no one to assist me, and every endeavour on my part was answered with threats of death.

"The officers were next called upon deck, and forced over the side into the boat, while I was kept apart from every one, abaft the mizzen-mast; Christian, armed with a bayonet, holding me by the bandage that secured my hands. The guard round me had their pieces cocked; but on my daring the ungrateful wretches to fire, they uncocked them.

"Isaac Martin, one of the guard over me, I saw, had an inclination to assist me, and, as he fed me with shaddock, my lips being quite parched, we explained our wishes to each other by our looks; but this being observed, Martin was removed from me. He then attempted to leave the ship, for which purpose he got into the boat; but with many threats they obliged him to return.

"The armourer, Joseph Coleman, and two of the carpenters, M'Intosh and Norman, were also kept contrary to their inclination; and they begged of me, after I was astern in the boat, to remember that they declared they had no hand in the transaction. Michael Byrne, I am told, likewise wanted to leave the ship.

"To Mr Samuel, the clerk, I am indebted for securing my journals and commission, with some material ship papers. This he did with great resolution, though guarded and strictly watched. He attempted to save the time-

keeper, and a box with my surveys, drawings, and remarks for fifteen years past, which were numerous, when he was hurried away.

"It appeared to me that Christian was some time in doubt whether he should keep the carpenter or his mates. At length he determined on the latter, and the carpenter was ordered into the boat. He was permitted but not without some opposition, to take his tool-chest.

"Much altercation took place among the mutinous crew during the whole business: some swore, others laughed at the helpless condition of the boat, being very deep, and so little room for those that were in her. As for Christian, he seemed as if meditating destruction on himself and every one else.

"I asked for arms, but they laughed at me; four cutlasses, however, were thrown into the boat after we were veered astern. I was forced over the side when they untied my hands. A few pieces of junk were thrown at us, and some clothes. We were at length cast adrift in the open ocean.

"Christian, the chief of the mutineers, is," says Captain Bligh, "of a respectable family in the north of England. This was the third voyage he had made with me; and as I found it necessary to keep my ship's company at three watches, I had given him an order to take charge of the third, his abilities being thoroughly equal to the task; and by this means the master and gunner were not at watch and watch.

"Heywood is also of a respectable family in the north of England,* and a young man of abilities as well as Christian. These two had been objects of my particular regard and attention, and I had taken great pains to instruct them, having entertained hopes that, as professional men, they would have become a credit to their country.

"Young was well recommended, and had the look of an able, stout seaman; he, however, fell short of what his appearance promised.

"Stewart was a young man of creditable parents in the Orkneys; at which place, on the return of the Resolution from the South Seas, in 1780, we received so many civilities, that, on that account only, I should gladly have taken him with me: but, independent of this recommendation, he was a seaman, and had always borne a good character.

"Notwithstanding the roughness with which I was treated, the remembrance of past kindnesses produced some signs of remorse in Christian. When they were forcing me out of the ship, I asked him if this treatment was a proper return for the many instances he had received of my friendship? He

* He was born in the Isle of Man, his father being Deemster of Man, and seneschal to the Duke of Athol.

appeared disturbed at my question, and answered with much emotion, 'That—Captain Bligh—that is the thing; I am in hell,—I am in hell!'

"It will very naturally be asked, what could be the reason for such a revolt? In answer to which I can only conjecture that the mutineers had flattered themselves with the hopes of a more happy life among the Otaheitans than they could possibly enjoy in England; and this, joined to some female connections, most probably occasioned the whole transaction. The ship, indeed, while within our sight, steered to the W.N.W., but I considered this only as a feint; for when we were sent away, 'Huzza for Otaheite!' was frequently heard among the mutineers.

"The women of Otaheite are handsome, mild and cheerful in their manners and conversation, possessed of great sensibility, and have sufficient delicacy to make them admired and beloved. The chiefs were so much attached to our people, that they rather encouraged their stay among them than otherwise, and even made them promises of large possessions. Under these and many other attendant circumstances, equally desirable, it is now perhaps not so much to be wondered at, though scarcely possible to have been foreseen, that a set of sailors, most of them void of connections, should be led away; especially when, in addition to such powerful inducements, they imagined it in their power to fix themselves in the midst of plenty, on one of the finest islands in the world, where they need not labour, and where the allurements of dissipation are beyond anything that can be conceived.

"Desertions have happened, more or less, from most of the ships that have been at the Society Islands; but it has always been in the commander's power to make their chiefs return their people: the knowledge, therefore, that it was unsafe to desert, perhaps first led mine to consider with what ease so small a ship might be surprised, and that so favourable an opportunity would never offer to them again.

"The secrecy of this mutiny is beyond all conception. Thirteen of the party, who were with me, had always lived forward among the seamen; yet neither they, nor the messmates of Christian, Stewart, Heywood, and Young, had ever observed any circumstance that made them in the least suspect what was going on. To such a close-planned act of villany, my mind being entirely free from any suspicion, it is not wonderful that I fell a sacrifice. Perhaps, if there had been marines on board, a sentinel at my cabin door might have prevented it; for I slept with the door always open, that the officers of the watch might have access to me on all occasions, the possibility of such a conspiracy

being ever the furthest from my thoughts. Had the mutiny been occasioned by any grievances, either real or imaginary, I must have discovered symptoms of their discontent, which would have put me on my guard; but the case was far otherwise. Christian, in particular, I was on the most friendly terms with: that very day he was engaged to have dined with me; and the preceding night he excused himself from supping with me, on pretence of being unwell, for which I felt concerned, having no suspicions of his integrity and honour."

This is the story Captain Bligh told when he returned, the observed of all observers, from one of the most perilous and distressing voyages over nearly four thousand miles of wide, wild ocean, in an open boat. The London slaveholders would have their eye on him; and this, at that time, was a motive for another effort, bordering, in point of determined energy, upon that one by which he overtook the four thousand miles. Whether he himself wrote his narrative or not, is one of those questions which no man need ever attempt to put, much less to answer; but certain it is that the story is skilfully told as against the miserable mutineers. In again telling their story now, we have a deep sympathy with them. More sinned against than sinning, young Christian seems to have been; and the results, as we shall find, were not those which could have issued from the instincts of persons liberally described by Captain Bligh as wretches and scoundrels.

Captain Bligh's story, however, obtained implicit credit in those wise old days in which slaveholders in London and elsewhere made large fortunes. He never had been a man renowned for suavity of manners or mildness of temper, but was always considered, and justly too, an excellent seaman. "We all know," it was said in the *United Service Journal* for April 1831, "that mutiny can arise but from one of these two sources—excessive folly or excessive tyranny; therefore, as it is admitted that Bligh was no idiot, the inference is obvious."

"Not only," continues the writer, "was the *narrative* which he published proved to be false in many material bearings, by evidence before a court-martial, but every act of his public life after this event—from his successive command of the Director, the Glatton, and the Warrior, to his disgraceful expulsion from New South Wales—was stamped with an insolence, an inhumanity, and coarseness, which fully developed his character."

There is no intention, in narrating this eventful history (writes Sir John Barrow), to accuse or defend either the character or the conduct of the late Admiral Bligh; it is well known his temper was irritable in the ex-

treme; but the circumstance of his having been the friend of Captain Cook, with whom he sailed as his master,—of his ever afterwards being patronised by Sir Joseph Banks—of the Admiralty promoting him to the rank of commander, appointing him immediately to the Providence, to proceed on the same expedition to Otaheite, and of his returning in a very short time to England with complete success, and recommending all his officers for promotion on account of their exemplary conduct,—of his holding several subsequent employments in the service, of his having commanded ships of the line in the battles of Copenhagen and Camperdown, and risen to the rank of a flag-officer;—these may perhaps be considered to speak something in his favour, and be allowed to stand as some proof that, with all his failings, he had his merits. That he was a man of coarse habits, and entertained very mistaken notions with regard to discipline, is quite true; yet he had many redeeming qualities.

The same writer further says, "We know that the officers fared in every way worse than the men, and that even young Heywood was kept at the masthead no less than eight hours at one spell, in the worst weather which they encountered off Cape Horn."

Young Heywood in his defence, said, "Captain Bligh, in his narrative, acknowledges that he had left some friends on board the Bounty, and no part of my conduct could have induced him to believe that I ought not to be reckoned of the number. Indeed, from his attention to, *and very kind treatment of me, personally*, I should have been a monster of depravity to have betrayed him. The idea alone is sufficient to disturb a mind where humanity and gratitude have, I hope, ever been noticed as its characteristic features." Bligh, too, declared in a letter to Heywood's uncle, after accusing him of ingratitude, that "he never once had an angry word from me during the whole course of the voyage, as his conduct always gave me much pleasure and satisfaction."

A manuscript journal, kept by Morrison, the boatswain's mate, who was tried and convicted as one of the mutineers, but received the king's pardon, shows the conduct of Bligh in a very unfavourable point of view. This Morrison was a person from talent and education far above the situation he held in the Bounty; he had previously served in the navy as midshipman, and after his pardon, was appointed gunner of the Blenheim, in which he perished with Sir Thomas Trowbridge. In comparing this journal with other documents, the dates and transactions appear to be correctly stated.

The seeds of discord in the Bounty seem to have been sown at a very early period of

the voyage. The duties of commander and purser were united in the person of Bligh; and it would seem that this proved the cause of very serious discontent among the officers and crew; of the mischief arising out of this union, the following statement of Morrison may serve as a specimen. At Teneriffe, Bligh ordered the cheese to be hoisted up and exposed to the air; which was no sooner done, than he pretended to miss a certain quantity, and declared that it had been stolen. The cooper, Henry Hillbrant, informed him that the cask in question had been opened by the orders of Mr Samuel, who acted also as steward, and the cheese sent on shore to his own house, previous to the Bounty leaving the river on her way to Portsmouth. Bligh, without making any further inquiry, immediately ordered the allowance of that article to be stopped, both from *officers* and *men*, until the deficiency should be made good, and told the cooper, he would give him a good flogging, if he said another word on the subject. Again, on approaching the equator, some decayed pumpkins, purchased at Teneriffe, were ordered to be issued to the crew, at the rate of *one* pound of pumpkin to *two* pounds of biscuit. The reluctance of the men to accept the proposed substitute, *on such terms*, being reported, Bligh flew upon deck in a violent rage, turned the hands up, and ordered the first man on the list of each mess to be called by name, at the same time saying, "I'll see who will dare to refuse the pumpkin, or anything else I may order to be served out;" to which he added, "I'll make you eat grass, or anything you can catch, before I have done with you." When a representation was made to him in a quiet and orderly manner, he called the crew aft, told them that everything relative to the provisions was transacted by his orders; that it was therefore needless for them to complain, as they would get no redress, he being the fittest judge of what was right or wrong, and that he would flog the first man who should dare attempt to make any complaint in future. To this imperious menace they bowed in silence, and not another murmur was heard from them during the remainder of the voyage to Otaheite, it being their determination to seek legal redress on the Bounty's return to England.

On arriving at Matavai Bay, in Otaheite, Bligh is accused of taking the officers' hogs and bread-fruit, and serving them to the ship's company; and when the master remonstrated with him on the subject, he replied that he would convince him that everything became *his* as soon as it was brought on board; that "he would take nine-tenths of every man's property, and let him see who dared to say anything to the contrary."

Morrison then says, "The object of our visit to the Society Islands being at length accomplished, we weighed on the 4th April 1789. Every one seemed in high spirits, and began to talk of home, as though they had just left Jamaica instead of Otaheite, so far onward did their flattering fancies waft them. On the 23d we anchored off Annamooka, the inhabitants of which island were very rude, and attempted to take the casks and axes from the parties sent to fill water and cut wood. A musket pointed at them produced no other effect than a return of the compliment, by poising their clubs or spears with menacing looks; and as it was Bligh's orders that no person should affront them on any occasion, they were emboldened by meeting with no check to their insolence. They at length became so troublesome, that Mr Christian who commanded the watering party, found it difficult to carry on his duty; but on acquainting Lieutenant Bligh with their behaviour, he received a volley of abuse. To this he replied in a respectful manner, 'The arms are of no effect, sir, while your orders prohibit their use.'" This happened but three days before the mutiny.

That sad catastrophe, if the writer of the journal be correct, was hastened, if not brought about, by the following circumstances, of which Bligh takes no notice. "In the afternoon of the 27th, Captain Bligh came upon deck, and missing some of the cocoa-nuts which had been piled up between the guns, said they had been stolen, and could not have been taken away without the knowledge of the officers, all of whom were sent for and questioned on the subject. On their declaring that they had not seen any of the people touch them, he exclaimed, 'Then you must have taken them yourselves;' and he proceeded to inquire of them separately how many they had purchased. On coming to Mr Christian, that gentleman answered, 'I do not know, sir; but I hope you do not think me so mean as to be guilty of stealing yours.' Mr Bligh replied, 'I'll sweat you for it; I'll make you jump overboard before you get through Endeavour Straits.'"

It is difficult to believe, says Sir John Barrow, that an officer could condescend to make use of such language; it is to be feared, however, that there is sufficient ground for the truth of these statements. Mr Fryer being asked, "What do you suppose to be Mr Christian's meaning when he said he had been in hell for a fortnight?" answered, "From the frequent quarrels they had had, and the abuse he had received from Mr Bligh." "Had there been any very recent quarrel?" "The day before, Mr Bligh challenged all the young gentlemen and people with stealing his cocoa-nuts." It was on the evening of this day that Captain Bligh,

according to his printed narrative, says, Christian was to have supped with him, but excused himself on account of being unwell; and that he was invited to dine with him on the day of the mutiny.

Every one of these circumstances, and many others which might be stated from Mr Morrison's journal, are omitted in Bligh's published narrative.

In so early a part of the voyage as their arrival in Adventure Bay, Bligh found fault with his officers, and put the carpenter into confinement. Again, at Matavai Bay, on the 5th December, he says, "I ordered the carpenter to cut a large stone that was brought off by one of the natives, requesting me to get it made fit for them to grind their hatchets on; but to my astonishment he refused, in direct terms, to comply, saying, 'I will not cut the stone, for it will spoil my chisel; and though there may be law to take away my clothes, there is none to take away my tools.' This man having before shown his mutinous and insolent behaviour, I was under the necessity of confining him to his cabin."

On the 5th January three men deserted in the cutter, on which occasion Bligh says, "Had the mate of the watch been awake, no trouble of this kind would have happened. I have therefore disrated and turned him before the mast; such neglectful and worthless petty-officers, I believe, never were in a ship as are in this. No orders for a few hours together are obeyed by them, and their conduct in general is so bad, that no confidence or trust can be reposed in them; in short, they have driven me to everything but corporal punishment, and that must follow if they do not improve."

By Morrison's journal it would appear that "corporal punishment" was not long delayed; for, on the very day, he says, the midshipman was put in irons, and confined from the 5th January to the 23d March —eleven weeks!

On the 17th January, orders being given to clear out the sail-room and air the sails, many of them were found much mildewed and rotten in many places; on which he observes, "If I had any officers to supersede the master and boatswain, or was capable of doing without them, considering them as common seamen, they should no longer occupy their respective stations; scarcely any neglect of duty can equal the criminality of this."

On the 24th January the three deserters were brought back and flogged, then put in irons for further punishment. "As this affair," he says, "was solely caused by the neglect of the officers who had the watch, I was induced to give them all a lecture on the occasion, and endeavour to show them that, however exempt they were at

present from the like punishment, yet they were equally subject, by the articles of war, to a condign one."

On the 7th March, a native Otaheitan, whom Bligh had confined in irons, contrived to break the lock of the bilboa-bolt and make his escape. "I had given," says Bligh, "a written order, that the mate of the watch was to be answerable for the prisoners, and to visit and see that they were safe in his watch; but I have such a neglectful set about me, that I believe nothing but condign punishment can alter their conduct. Verbal orders, in the course of a month, were so forgotten, that they would impudently assert no such thing or directions were given; and I have been at last under the necessity to trouble myself with writing what, by decent young officers, would be complied with as the common rules of the service. Mr Stewart was the mate of the watch."

These extracts show the terms on which Bligh was with his officers. That Christian was the sole author of the mutiny appears still more strongly from the following passage in Morrison's journal: "When Mr Bligh found he must go into the boat, he begged of Mr Christian to desist, saying, 'I'll pawn my honour, I'll give my bond, Mr Christian, never to think of this, if you'll desist,' and urged his wife and family; to which Mr Christian replied, 'No, Captain Bligh, if you had any honour, things had not come to this; and if you had any regard for your wife and family, you should have thought on them before, and not behaved so much like a villain.' The boatswain also tried to pacify Mr Christian, to whom he replied, 'It is too late; I have been in hell for this fortnight past, and am determined to bear it no longer; and you know, Mr Cole, that I have been used like a dog all the voyage.'"

It is pretty evident, therefore, that the mutiny was not, as Bligh in his narrative states it to have been, the result of a conspiracy. To those who care to read the minutes of the court-martial, it will be seen that the affair was planned and executed between four and eight o'clock, on the morning of the 28th April, when Christian had the watch upon deck; that Christian, unable longer to bear abusive and insulting language, had meditated his own escape from the ship the day before, choosing to trust himself to fate, rather than submit to the constant upbraiding to which he had been subject.

Bligh invited Christian to sup with him the same evening, evidently wishing to renew their friendly intercourse; and happy would it have been for all parties had he accepted the invitation. While on this lovely night Bligh and his master were congratulating themselves on the pleasing prospect of fine weather and a full moon, to light them

through Endeavour's dangerous Straits, Christian was, in all probability, brooding over his wrongs, and meditating on the daring act he was to perpetrate the following morning.

By the journal of Morrison, the following is an account of the transaction, as given by Christian himself.

He said: "Finding himself much hurt by the treatment he had received from Lieutenant Bligh, he had determined to quit the ship the preceding evening, and had informed the boatswain, carpenter, and two midshipmen (Stewart and *Hayward*) of his intention to do so; that by them he was supplied with part of a roasted pig, some nails, beads, and other articles of trade, which he put into a bag that was given him by the last-named gentleman; that he put this bag into the clue of Robert Tinkler's hammock, where it was discovered by that young gentleman when going to bed at night; but the business was smothered, and passed off without any further notice. He said he had fastened some staves to a stout plank, with which he intended to make his escape; but finding he could not effect it during the first and middle watches, as the ship had no way through the water, and the people were all moving about, he laid down to rest about half-past three in the morning; that when Mr Stewart called him to relieve the deck at four o'clock, he had but just fallen asleep, and was much out of order; upon observing which, Mr Stewart strenuously advised him to abandon his intention; that as soon as he had taken charge of the deck, he saw Mr Hayward, the mate of his watch, lie down on the arm-chest to take a nap; and finding that Mr Hallet, the other midshipman, did not make his appearance, he suddenly formed the resolution of seizing the ship. Disclosing his intention to Matthew Quintal and Isaac Martin, both of whom had been flogged by Lieutenant Bligh, they called up Charles Churchill, who had also tasted the cat, and Matthew Thompson, both of whom readily joined in the plot. That Alexander Smith (*alias* John Adams), John Williams, and William M'Koy, evinced equal willingness, and went with Churchill to the armourer, of whom they obtained the keys of the arm-chest, under pretence of wanting a musket to fire at a shark, then alongside; that finding Mr Hallet asleep on an arm-chest in the main-hatchway, they roused and sent him on deck. Charles Norman, unconscious of their proceedings, had, in the meantime, awaked Mr *Hayward*, and directed his attention to the shark, whose movements he was watching at the moment that Mr Christian and his confederates came up the fore-hatchway, after having placed arms in the hands of several men who were not aware of their design. One man, Matthew Thompson, was left in charge

of the chest, and he served out arms to Thomas Burkitt and Robert Lamb. Mr Christian said he then proceeded to secure Lieutenant Bligh, the master, gunner, and botanist."

"When Mr Christian," observes Morrison, in his journal, "related the above circumstances, I recollected having seen him fasten some staves to a plank lying on the larboard gangway, as also having heard the boatswain say to the carpenter, 'It will not do to-night.' I likewise remember that Mr Christian had visited the fore-cockpit several times that evening, although he had very seldom, if ever, frequented the warrant-officers' cabins before."

If this be a correct statement, it removes every doubt of Christian being the sole instigator of the mutiny, and establishes the conclusion that it was suddenly conceived by a hot-headed young man, in a state of great excitement of mind, caused by the frequent abusing and insulting language of his commanding officer. Waking out of a short half-hour's disturbed sleep, finding the two mates of the watch, Hayward and Hallet, asleep, the opportunity tempting, and the ship completely in his power, he darted down the fore-hatchway, got possession of the keys of the arm-chest, and made the hazardous experiment of arming such of the men as he thought he could trust, and effected his purpose.

There is a passage in Captain Beechey's account of Pitcairn Island, which, if correct, would cast a stain on the memory of the unfortunate Stewart — he who, if there was one innocent man in the ship (says Sir John Barrow), was that man. Captain Beechey says (speaking of Christian), "His plan, strange as it must appear for a young officer to adopt who was fairly advanced in an honourable profession, was to set himself adrift upon a raft, and make his way to the island (Tofoa) then in sight. As quick in the execution as in the design, the raft was soon constructed, various useful articles were got together, and he was on the point of launching it, when a young officer, who afterwards perished in the Pandora, to whom Christian communicated his intention, recommended him, rather than risk his life on so hazardous an expedition, to endeavour to take possession of the ship, which he thought would not be very difficult, as many of the ship's company were not well-disposed towards the commander, and would all be very glad to return to Otaheite, and reside among their friends in that island. This daring proposition is even more extraordinary than the premeditated scheme of his companion."

Captain Beechey, desirous of being correct in his statement, sent his chapter on Pitcairn Island for any observations the subsequent Captain Heywood might have to make on what was said therein regarding the mutiny. Captain Heywood returned the following reply:

"*5th April* 1830.

"Dear Sir,—I have perused the account you received from Adams of the mutiny in the Bounty, which does indeed differ very materially from a foot-note in Marshall's 'Naval Biography,' by the editor, to whom I verbally detailed the facts, which are strictly true.

"That Christian informed the boatswain and the carpenter, Messrs Hayward and Stewart, of his determination to leave the ship upon a raft, on the night preceding the mutiny, is certain; but that any one of them (Stewart in particular) should have 'recommended, rather than risk his life on so hazardous an expedition, that he should try the expedient of taking the ship from the captain,' etc., is entirely at variance with the whole character and conduct of the latter, both before and after the mutiny; as well as with the assurance of Christian himself, the very night he quitted Taheité, that the idea of attempting to take the ship had never entered his distracted mind until the moment he relieved the deck, and found his mate and midshipman asleep.

"At that last interview with Christian, he also communicated to me, for the satisfaction of his relations, other circumstances connected with that unfortunate disaster, which, after their deaths, may or may not be laid before the public. And although they can implicate none but himself, either living or dead, they may extenuate but will contain not a word of his in defence of the crime he committed against the laws of his country.—I am, etc.

"P. Heywood."

Captain Beechey stated only what he had heard from old Adams, who was not always correct in the information he gave to the visitors of his island; but this part of his statement gave great pain to Heywood, who adverted to it on his death-bed, wishing, out of regard for Stewart's memory and his surviving friends, that it should be publicly contradicted. The temptations, therefore, which it was supposed Otaheite held out to the deluded men of the Bounty had no more share in the transaction, than the supposed conspiracy. Bligh is the only person who has said it was so.

If, however, the recollection of the "sunny isle" and its "smiling women" had really tempted the men to mutiny, Bligh would himself not have been very free from blame, for having allowed them to remain for six whole months among this voluptuous and fascinating people. The service was carried on in those days in a very different spirit from that which regulates its movements now, otherwise the Bounty would never have passed six whole months at one island stowing away the fruit. As far as the mutiny of his people was concerned, we must wholly discard the idea thrown

out by Bligh that the seductions of Otaheite had any share in producing it. It could not have escaped a person of Christian's sagacity, that certain interrogatories would unquestionably be put by the natives of Otaheite, on finding the ship return so soon, without her commander, without the bread-fruit plants, and with only about half her crew. At subsequent periods, he twice visited that island. His object was to find a place of concealment, where he might pass the remainder of his days, unheard of and unknown—one of the many strange sort of wishes which will happen to men who mean what they are doing.

Christian had intended to send away Bligh and his associates in the cutter, and ordered that it should be hoisted out for that purpose, which was done—a small boat, that could hold but eight or ten men at the most. But the remonstrances of the master, boatswain, and carpenter prevailed on him to allow them the launch, into which nineteen persons were thrust, whose weight, together with that of a few articles they were permitted to take, brought down the boat so near to the water as to endanger her sinking with but a moderate swell of the sea.

The first consideration of Bligh and his eighteen unfortunate companions, on being cast adrift in their open boat, was their resources. The quantity of provisions thrown at them was—one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, sixteen pieces of pork, each weighing two pounds; six quarts of rum, six bottles of wine, with twenty-eight gallons of water, and four empty barricoes. Being so near to the island of Tofoa, they resolved to seek a supply of bread-fruit and water there, so as to preserve, if possible, that poor stock entire; but after rowing along the coast, they discovered only some cocoa-nut trees on the top of high precipices, from which, with much danger, they succeeded in obtaining about twenty nuts. The second day they made excursions into the island, but without success. They met a few natives, who came down with them to the cove where the boat was lying. They made inquiries after the ship, and Bligh said the ship had overset and sunk, and that they only were saved. The story was certainly indiscreet, as putting the people in possession of their defenceless situation; however, they brought in small quantities of bread-fruit, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, but little or no water could be procured. These supplies, scanty as they were, served to keep up the spirits of the men, and they all determined to do their best.

The numbers of the natives having so much increased as to line the whole beach, they began knocking stones together, which was known to be the preparatory signal for an attack.

With some difficulty, on account of the surf, Bligh's men succeeded in getting the things that were on shore into the boat. John Norton, quartermaster, was casting off the stern-fast, and the natives immediately rushed upon this poor man, and actually stoned him to death. A volley of stones was also discharged at the boat, and every one in it was more or less hurt. This induced the unfortunate fugitives to push out to sea with all the speed they were able to give to the launch; but several canoes, filled with stones, followed close after them and renewed the attack; against which the only return the men in the boat could make, was with the stones of the assailants that lodged in her. The only expedient left was to tempt the enemy to desist from the pursuit, by throwing overboard some clothes, which induced the canoes to stop and pick them up; and, night coming on, the natives returned to the shore.

The men now entreated Bligh to take a homeward route; and on being told that no hope of relief could be entertained till they reached Timor, a distance of full twelve hundred leagues, they all readily agreed to be content with an allowance, which, on a calculation of their resources, he informed them would not exceed one ounce of bread and a quarter of a pint of water per day. It was about eight o'clock at night on the 2d May, when they bore away under a reefed lug-foresail; and having divided the people into watches, "and got the boat into a little order," says that brave commander, "we returned thanks to God for our miraculous preservation; and, in full confidence of His gracious support, I found my mind more at ease than it had been for some time past."

At daybreak on the 3d, the forlorn and almost hopeless navigators saw with alarm the sun to rise fiery and red—a sure indication of a severe gale of wind; and, accordingly, at eight o'clock it blew a violent storm, and the sea ran so high that the sail was becalmed when between seas, and too much to have set when on the top of the sea; yet they could not venture to take it in, as they were in imminent danger, the sea curling over the stern, and obliging them to bale with all their might.

The bread being in bags, was in danger of being spoiled by the wet. It was determined, therefore, that all superfluous clothes, with some rope and spare sails, should be thrown overboard. The carpenter's tool-chest was cleared, and the tools stowed in the bottom of the boat, and the bread was secured in the chest. A teaspoonful of rum was served out to each person, with a quarter of a bread-fruit for dinner, Bligh having determined to make their small stock of provisions last

eight weeks, let the daily proportion be ever so small.

The sea continuing to run higher, the fatigue of baling became very great. The men were constantly wet, the night very cold, and at daylight their limbs were so benumbed, that they could scarcely find the use of them. At this time a tea-spoonful of rum served out to each person was found of great benefit to all. Five small cocoa-nuts were distributed for dinner, and in the evening a few broken pieces of bread-fruit were served for supper, after which prayers were performed.

On the night of the 4th and morning of the 5th, the gale had abated; the first step to be taken was to examine the state of the bread, a great part of which was found to be damaged and rotten. The boat was now running among islands, but, after their reception at Tofoa, they did not venture to land. On the 6th, they still continued to see islands at a distance; and this day, for the first time, they hooked a fish, to their great joy; "but," says Bligh, "we were miserably disappointed by its being lost in trying to get it into the boat." In the evening, each person had an ounce of the damaged bread, and a quarter of a pint of water for supper.

Captain Bligh observes, "It will readily be supposed our lodgings were very miserable and confined for want of room;" but he endeavoured to remedy the latter defect by putting themselves at watch and watch; so that one-half always sat up, while the other lay down on the boat's bottom, or upon a chest, but with nothing to cover them except the heavens. Their limbs, he says, were dreadfully cramped, for they could not stretch them out; and the nights were so cold, and they were so constantly wet, that, after a few hours' sleep, they were scarcely able to move. At dawn of day on the 7th, being very wet and cold, he says, "I served a spoonful of rum and a morsel of bread for breakfast."

On the 8th, the allowance issued was an ounce and a half of pork, a tea-spoonful of rum, half a pint of cocoa-nut milk, and an ounce of bread. The rum was of the greatest service. "Hitherto," the commander says, "I had issued the allowance by guess; but I now made a pair of scales with two cocoa-nut shells; and having accidentally some pistol-balls in the boat, twenty-five of which weighed one pound or sixteen ounces, I adopted one of these balls as the proportion of weight that each person should receive of bread at the times I served it. I also amused all hands with describing the situations of New Guinea and New Holland, and gave them every information in my power, that in case any accident should happen to me, those who survived might have some idea of what they were about, and be able to find

their way to Timor, which at present they knew nothing of more than the name, and some not even that. At night I served a quarter of a pint of water and half an ounce of bread for supper."

On the morning of the 9th, a quarter of a pint of cocoa-nut milk and some of the decayed bread were served for breakfast; and for dinner, the kernels of four cocoa-nuts, with the remainder of the rotten bread, which, he says, was eatable only by such distressed people as themselves. A storm of thunder and lightning gave them about twenty gallons of water. "Being miserably wet and cold, I served to the people a tea-spoonful of rum each, to enable them to bear with their distressing situation."

The following day (the 10th) brought no relief, except that of its light. The allowance now served regularly to each person was one twenty-fifth part of a pound of bread and a quarter of a pint of water, at eight in the morning, at noon, and at sunset. To-day was added about half an ounce of pork for dinner, which, though any moderate person would have considered only as a mouthful, was divided into three or four.

The morning of the 11th did not improve. "At daybreak I served to every person a tea-spoonful of rum, our limbs being so much cramped that we could scarcely move them." In the evening of the 12th, it still rained hard, and we again experienced a dreadful night. At length the day came, and showed a miserable set of beings, full of wants, without anything to relieve them. Some complained of great pain in their bowels, and every one of having almost lost the use of his limbs. The little sleep we got was in no way refreshing, as we were constantly covered with the sea and rain. The shipping of seas and constant baling continued; and the men were shivering with wet and cold, yet the commander says he was under the necessity of informing them that he could no longer afford them the comfort they had derived from the tea-spoonful of rum.

On the 13th and 14th the stormy weather and heavy sea continued unabated; and on these days they saw distant land, and passed several islands. The sight of these islands served only to increase the misery of their situation.

The whole day and night of the 15th were still rainy; the latter was dark, not a star to be seen by which the steerage could be directed, and the sea was continually breaking over the boat. On the next day there was issued for dinner an ounce of salt pork, in addition to their miserable allowance of one twenty-fifth part of a pound of bread. The night was again truly horrible, with storms of thunder, lightning, and rain; not a star visible, so that the steerage was quite uncertain.

On the morning of the 17th, at dawn of day, "I found," says the commander, "every person complaining, and some of them solicited extra allowance, which I positively refused. Our situation was miserable; always wet, and suffering extreme cold in the night, without the least shelter from the weather. The little rum we had was of the greatest service: when our nights were particularly distressing, I generally served a tea-spoonful or two to each person, and it was always joyful tidings when they heard of my intentions. The night was again a dark and dismal one, the sea constantly breaking over us, and nothing but the wind and waves to direct our steerage. It was my intention, if possible, to make the coast of New Holland to the southward of Endeavour Straits, being sensible that it was necessary to preserve such a situation as would make a southerly wind a fair one."

On the 18th the rain abated, when the men all stripped, and wrung their clothes through the sea-water, from which, the commander says, they derived much warmth and refreshment; but every one complained of violent pains in their bones. At night the heavy rain recommenced, with severe lightning, which obliged them to keep baling without intermission. The same weather continued through the 19th and 20th.

"During the whole of the afternoon of the 21st we were," he reported, "so covered with rain and salt water, that we could scarcely see. We suffered extreme cold, and every one dreaded the approach of night. Sleep, though we longed for it, afforded no comfort; for my own part, I almost lived without it. On the 22d, our situation was extremely calamitous. We were obliged to take the course of the sea, running right before it, and watching with the utmost care, as the least error in the helm would in a moment have been our destruction.

"On the evening of the 24th, the wind moderated, and the weather looked much better, which rejoiced all hands, so that they ate their scanty allowance with satisfaction. The night also was fair, but being always wet with the sea, we suffered much from the cold. I had the pleasure to see a fine morning produce some cheerful countenances; and for the first time during the last fifteen days, we experienced comfort from the warmth of the sun. We stripped and hung up our clothes to dry, which were by this time become so threadbare, that they could not keep out either wet or cold. In the afternoon we had many birds about us which are never seen far from land, such as boobies and noddies."

On the 25th about noon, some noddies came so near to the boat, that one of them was caught by the hand. This bird was about the size of a small pigeon. "I divided it," says

Bligh, "with its entrails, into eighteen portions, and by a well known method at sea, of '*Who shall have this?*' it was distributed with the allowance of bread and water for dinner, and eaten up, bones and all, with salt water for sauce. In the evening, several boobies flying very near to us, we had the good fortune to catch one of them. This bird is as large as a duck. They are the most presumptive proof of being near land of any sea-fowl we are acquainted with. I directed the bird to be killed for supper, and the blood to be given to three of the people who were the most distressed for want of food.

"On the next day," he says, "the 26th, we caught another booby. The people were overjoyed at this addition to their dinner, which was distributed in the same manner as on the preceding evening; giving the blood to those who were the most in want of food. To make the bread a little savoury, most of the men frequently dipped it in salt water; but I generally broke mine into small pieces, and ate it in my allowance of water, out of a cocoa-nut shell."

The weather was now serene, which, nevertheless, was not without its inconveniences; for, it appears, they began to feel distress of a different kind from that which they had hitherto been accustomed to suffer. The heat of the sun was so powerful, that several of the people were seized with languor and faintness. But the little circumstance of catching two boobies in the evening, trifling as it may appear, had the effect of raising their spirits. The stomachs of these birds contained several flying-fish and small cuttle-fish, all of which were carefully saved to be divided for dinner the next day; which were accordingly divided, with their entrails and the contents of their maws, into eighteen portions; and, as the prize was a very valuable one, it was distributed as before by calling out, "*Who shall have this?*"

At one in the morning of the 28th, the person at the helm heard the sound of breakers. It was the "barrier reef" which runs along the eastern coast of New Holland, through which it now became the anxious object to discover a passage: Bligh says this was now become absolutely necessary, without a moment's loss of time. The sea broke furiously over the reef in every part; within, the water was so smooth and calm, that every man already anticipated the heartfelt satisfaction he was about to receive, as soon as he should have passed the barrier. At length a break in the reef was discovered, a quarter of a mile in width; and through this the boat rapidly passed with a strong stream running to the westward, and came immediately into smooth water, and all the past hard-

ships seemed at once to be forgotten.

They now returned thanks to God for His generous protection, and took their miserable allowance of the twenty-fifth part of a pound of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water, for dinner.

The coast now began to show itself very distinctly, and in the evening they landed on the sandy point of an island, when it was soon discovered there were oysters on the rocks, it being low water. The party sent out to reconnoitre returned highly rejoiced at having found plenty of oysters and fresh water. By help of a small magnifying-glass, a fire was made; and among the things that had been thrown into the boat was a tinder-box and a piece of brimstone, so that in future they had the ready means of making a fire. One of the men, too, had been so provident as to bring away with him from the ship a copper pot; and thus, with a mixture of oysters, bread, and pork, a stew was made, of which each person received a full pint.

"This day (29th May) being," says Bligh, "the anniversary of the restoration of King Charles II., and the name not being inapplicable to our present situation (for we were restored to fresh life and strength), I named this 'Restoration Island,' for I thought it probable that Captain Cook might not have taken notice of it."

With oysters and palm-tops stewed together, the people now made excellent meals, without consuming any of their bread. In the morning of the 30th, he says he saw a visible alteration in the men for the better, and sent them away to gather oysters, in order to carry a stock of them to sea; for he determined to put off again that evening. They also procured fresh water, and filled all their vessels, to the amount of nearly sixty gallons. On examining the bread, it was found there still remained about thirty-eight days' allowance. They now proceeded to the northward, having the continent on their left, and several islands and reefs on their right.

On the 31st they landed on one of these islands, to which was given the name of "Sunday." "I sent out two parties," says Bligh, "one to the northward and the other to the southward, to seek for supplies, and others I ordered to stay by the boat. On this occasion fatigue and weakness so far got the better of their sense of duty, that some of the people expressed their discontent at having worked harder than their companions, and declared that they would rather be without their dinner than go in search of it. One person, in particular, went so far as to tell me, with a mutinous look, that he was as good a man as myself. It was not possible for one to judge where this might have an end, if not stopped in time; to pre-

vent, therefore, such disputes in future, I determined either to preserve my command or die in the attempt; and, seizing a cutlass, I ordered him to lay hold of another and defend himself; on which he called out that I was going to kill him, and immediately made concessions. I did not allow this to interfere further with the harmony of the boat's crew, and everything soon became quiet."

On this island they obtained oysters, and clams, and dog-fish; also a small bean, which Nelson, the botanist, pronounced to be a species of *dolichos*. On the 1st of June they stopped in the midst of some sandy islands, such as are known by the name of *keys*, where they procured a few clams and beans. Here Nelson was taken very ill with a violent heat in his bowels, a loss of sight, great thirst, and an inability to walk. A little wine, which had carefully been saved, with some pieces of bread soaked in it, was given to him in small quantities, and he soon began to recover. The boatswain and carpenter were also ill, and complained of headache and sickness of the stomach. In fact, there were few without complaints.

A party was sent out by night to catch birds; they returned with only twelve noddies, but it is stated that had it not been for the folly and obstinacy of one of the party, who separated from the others and disturbed the birds, a great many more might have been taken. The offender was Robert Lamb, who acknowledged, when he got to Java, that he had that night eaten *nine* raw birds after he separated from his two companions.

On the 3d of June, after passing several keys and islands, and doubling Cape York, the north-easternmost point of New Holland, at eight in the evening, the little boat and her brave crew once more launched into the open ocean.

On the 5th a booby was caught by the hand, the blood of which was divided between three of the men who were weakest, and the bird kept for next day's dinner; and on the evening of the 6th the allowance for supper was recommenced, according to a promise made when it had been discontinued. On the 7th, after a miserably wet and cold night, nothing more could be afforded than the usual allowance for breakfast; but at dinner each person had the luxury of an ounce of dried clams, which consumed all that remained. Mr Ledward, the surgeon, and Lawrence Lebogue, an old hardy seaman, appeared to be giving way very fast. No other assistance could be given to them than a tea-spoonful or two of wine, and that had to be carefully saved for such a melancholy occasion.

On the 8th the weather was more moderate, and a small dolphin was caught, which gave about two ounces to each man.

The surgeon and Lebogue still continued very ill, and the only relief that could be afforded them was a small quantity of wine, and encouraging them with the hope that a very few days more, at the rate they were then sailing, would bring them to Timor.

"In the morning of the 10th, there was a visible alteration for the worse," says Bligh, "in many of the people, which gave me great apprehensions. An extreme weakness, swelled legs, hollow and ghastly countenances, a more than common inclination to sleep, with an apparent debility of understanding, seemed to me the melancholy presages of an approaching dissolution. The surgeon and Lebogue, in particular, were most miserable objects: I occasionally gave them a few tea-spoonfuls of wine out of the little that remained, which greatly assisted them."

On the 11th Bligh announced to his wretched companions that he had no doubt they had now passed the meridian of the eastern part of Timor, a piece of intelligence that diffused universal joy and satisfaction. At three in the morning of the following day, Timor was discovered at the distance only of two leagues from the shore.

On Sunday the 14th they came safely to anchor in Coupang Bay, where they were received with every mark of kindness, hospitality, and humanity. The houses of the principal people were thrown open for their reception. The poor sufferers when landed were scarcely able to walk: their condition was deplorable.

Having recruited their strength by a residence of two months among the friendly inhabitants of Coupang, they proceeded to the westward on the 20th August in a small schooner, which was purchased and armed for the purpose, and arrived on the 1st October in Batavia Road, where Captain Bligh embarked in a Dutch packet, and was landed on the Isle of Wight on the 14th March 1790. The rest of the people had passages provided for them in ships of the Dutch East India Company, then about to sail for Europe. All of them, however, did not survive to reach England. Nelson, the botanist, died at Coupang; Elphinstone, master's mate, Peter Linkletter and Thomas Hall, seamen, died at Batavia; Robert Lamb, seaman, died on the passage; and Ledward, the surgeon, was left behind, and not afterwards heard of. These six, with John Norton, who was stoned to death, left twelve of the nineteen, forced by the mutineers into the launch, to survive the difficulties and dangers of this unparalleled voyage, and to revisit their native country.

Bligh says, "Thus happily ended, through the assistance of Divine Providence, without accident, a voyage of the most extraordinary nature that ever happened in the world, let it be taken either in its extent, dura-

tion, or the want of any necessary of life."

Sir John Barrow adds, "It is impossible to read this extraordinary and unparalleled voyage, without bestowing the meed of unqualified praise on the able and judicious conduct of its commander, who is in every respect, as far as this extraordinary enterprise is concerned, fully entitled to rank with Parry, Franklin, and Richardson. Few men, indeed, were ever placed for so long a period in a more trying, distressing, and perilous situation than he was, and it may safely be pronounced that through his discreet management of the men and their scanty resources, and his ability as a thorough seaman, eighteen souls were saved from imminent and otherwise inevitable destruction, It was not alone the dangers of the sea, in an open boat crowded with people, that he had to combat, though they required the most consummate nautical skill to be enabled to contend successfully against them; but the unfortunate situation to which the party were exposed, rendered him subject to the almost daily murmuring and caprice of people less conscious than himself of their real danger. From the experience they had acquired at Tofoa of the savage disposition of the people against the defenceless boat's crew, a lesson was learned how little was to be trusted, even to the mildest of uncivilised people, when a conscious superiority was in their hands. A striking proof of this was experienced in the unprovoked attack made by those amiable people, the Otaheitans, on Captain Wallis's ship, of whose power they had formed no just conception; but having once experienced the full force of it, on no future occasion was any attempt made to repeat the attack. Captain Bligh, fully aware of his own weakness, deemed it expedient, therefore, to resist all desires and temptations to land at any of those islands among which they passed in the course of the voyage, well knowing how little could be trusted to the forbearance of savages, unarmed and wholly defenceless as his party were.

But the circumstance of being tantalised with the appearance of land, clothed with perennial verdure, whose approach was forbidden to men chilled with wet and cold, and nearly perishing with hunger, was by no means the most difficult against which the commander had to struggle. "It was not the least of my distresses," he observes, "to be constantly assailed with the melancholy demands of my people for an increase of allowance, which it grieved me to refuse." He well knew that to reason with men reduced to the last stage of famine, yet denied the use of provisions within their reach, and with the power to seize upon them in their own hands, would be to no purpose. Something more must be done to ensure even the possibility of

saving them from the effect of their own imprudence. The first thing he set about, therefore, was to ascertain the exact state of their provisions, which were found to amount to the ordinary consumption of five days, but which were to be spun out so as to last fifty days. This was at once distinctly stated to the men, and an agreement entered into, and a solemn promise made by all, that the settled allowance should never be deviated from, as they were made clearly to understand that on the strict observance of this agreement rested the only hope of their safety; and this was explained and made so evident to every man, at the time it was concluded, that they unanimously agreed to it; and by reminding them of this compact, whenever they became clamorous for more, and showing a firm determination not to swerve from it, Captain Bligh succeeded in resisting all their solicitations.

This rigid adherence to the compact in doling out their miserable pittance, the constant exposure to wet, the imminent peril of being swallowed up by the ocean, their cramped and confined position, and the unceasing reflection on their miserable and melancholy situation—all these difficulties and sufferings make it not less than miraculous that this voyage, itself a miracle, should have been completed, not only without the loss of a man from sickness, but with so little loss of health. "With respect to the preservation of our health," says the commander, "during the course of sixteen days of heavy and almost continual rain, I would recommend to every one in a similar situation the method we practised of dipping their clothes in salt-water, and to wring them out as often as they become soaked with rain: it was the only resource we had, and I believe was of the greatest service to us, for it felt more like a change of dry clothes than could well be imagined. We had occasion to do this so often, that at length all our clothes were wrung to pieces."

But the great art of all was to divert their attention from the almost hopeless situation in which they were placed, and to prevent despondency from taking possession of their minds; and in order to assist in effecting this, some employment was devised for them: among other things, a log-line—an object of interest to all—was measured and marked; and the men were practised in counting seconds correctly, that the distance run on each day might be ascertained with a nearer approach to accuracy than by mere guessing. These little operations afforded them a temporary amusement; and the log being daily and hourly hove, gave them also some employment, and diverted their thoughts for the moment from their melancholy situation. Then, every

noon, when the sun was out, or at other times before or after noon, and also at night when the stars appeared, Captain Bligh never neglected to take observations for the latitude, and to work the day's work for ascertaining the boat's place. The anxiety of the people to hear how they had proceeded, what progress had been made, and whereabouts they were on the wide ocean, also contributed for the time to drive away gloomy thoughts that but too frequently would intrude themselves. These observations were rigidly attended to, and sometimes made under the most difficult circumstances—the sea breaking over the observer, and the boat pitching and rolling so much, that he was obliged to be "propped up" while taking them. In this way, with now and then a little interrupted sleep, about a thousand long and anxious hours were consumed in pain and peril, and a space of sea passed over equal to four thousand five hundred miles, being at the rate of four and one-fifth miles an hour, or one hundred miles a day. Bligh mentions, in his printed narrative, the mutinous conduct of a person to whom he gave a cutlass to defend himself. This affair, as stated in his original manuscript journal, wears a far more serious aspect. "The carpenter (Purcell) began to be insolent to a high degree, and at last told me, with a mutinous aspect, he was as good a man as I was. I did not just now see where this was to end: I therefore determined to strike a final blow at it, and either to preserve my command or die in the attempt; and, taking hold of a cutlass, I ordered the rascal to take hold of another and defend himself, when he called out that I was going to kill him, and began to make concessions. I was now only assisted by Mr Nelson; and the master (Fryer) very deliberately called out to the boatswain to put me under an arrest, and was stirring up a great disturbance, when I declared, if he interfered when I was in the execution of my duty to preserve order and regularity, and that in consequence any tumult arose, I would certainly put him to death the first man. This had a proper effect on this man, and he now assured me that, on the contrary, I might rely on him to support my orders and directions for the future. This is the outline of a tumult that lasted about a quarter of an hour;" and he adds, "I was told that the master and carpenter, at the last place, were endeavouring to procure altercations, and were the principal cause of their murmuring there." This carpenter he brought to a court-martial on their arrival in England, on various charges, of which he was found guilty in part, and reprimanded. Purcell was said to be afterwards in a mad-house.

On another occasion, when a stew of oysters was distributed among the people, Bligh observes (in the MS. journal), "In the distribution of it, the voraciousness of some and the moderation of others were very discernible. The master began to be dissatisfied the first, because it was not made into a larger quantity by the addition of water, and showed a turbulent disposition, until I laid my commands on him to be silent." Again, on his refusing bread to the men, because they were collecting oysters, he says, "This occasioned some murmuring with the master and carpenter, the former of whom endeavoured to prove the propriety of such an expenditure, and was troublesomely ignorant, tending to create disorder among those, if any were weak enough to listen to him."

This conduct of the master and the carpenter, if we accept the commander's account of it as accurate, and not unduly biassed, was enough to provoke a less irritable person. He mentions, both in the narrative and the original journal, other instances of like provocation. But what makes one chary at repeating the story with accessories which aroused the British Lion at the time of Bligh's return, and set it raging and roaring after the mutineers, is that gentleman's treatment of the conduct, character, and good name of Midshipman Heywood, who lived through it all, and a sentence of death besides, to be subsequently honoured and respected as Captain Peter Heywood. "To the kindness of Mrs Heywood," says Sir John Barrow in his preface, "the relict of the late Captain Peter Heywood, the editor is indebted for those beautiful and affectionate letters, written by a beloved sister to an unfortunate brother, while a prisoner under sentence of death. . . . Those letters also from the brother to his deeply afflicted family, will be read with peculiar interest." We now, as a sort of crucial test of Bligh's conduct towards his officers, and of the accuracy of his statements when he returned, resume the story as it affects him and Heywood, presenting a variety of correspondence. Bligh speaks in his narrative of Heywood only as one of those left in the ship; he does not charge him with taking any active part in the mutiny; there is every reason, indeed, to believe that Bligh did not, and indeed could not, see him on the deck on that occasion: in point of fact, he never was within thirty feet of Captain Bligh, and the booms were between them. About the end of March 1790, two months subsequent to the death of a most beloved and lamented husband, Mrs Heywood received the afflicting information, but by report only, of a mutiny having taken place on board the Bounty. In that ship Mrs Heywood's son had been serving as midship-

man, who, when he left his home, in August 1787, was under fifteen years of age, a boy deservedly admired and beloved by all who knew him, and to his own family almost an object of adoration, for his superior understanding and the amiable qualities of his disposition. In a state of mind little short of distraction, on hearing this fatal intelligence, which was at the same time aggravated by every circumstance of guilt, his mother addressed a letter to Captain Bligh, strongly expressive of the misery she must necessarily feel on such an occasion. The following is Bligh's reply:

"*London, April* 2, 1790.

"MADAM,—I received your letter this day, and feel for you very much, being perfectly sensible of the extreme distress you must suffer from the conduct of your son Peter. *His baseness is beyond all description;* but I hope you will endeavour to prevent the loss of him, heavy as the misfortune is, from afflicting you too severely. I imagine he is, with the rest of the mutineers, returned to Otaheite.

"I am, Madam,

"(Signed) WM. BLIGH."

Colonel Holwell, the uncle of young Heywood, had previously addressed Bligh on the same subject, to whom he returned the following answer:

"*26th March* 1790.

"SIR,—I have just this instant received your letter. With much concern I inform you that your nephew, Peter Heywood, is among the mutineers. *His ingratitude to me is of the blackest dye,* for I was a father to him in every respect, and he never once had an angry word from me through the whole course of the voyage, as his conduct always gave me much pleasure and satisfaction. I very much regret *that so much baseness formed the character of a young man* I had a real regard for, and it will give me much pleasure to hear that his friends *can bear the loss of him without much concern.*

"I am, Sir, etc.,

"(Signed) WM. BLIGH."

The only way of accounting for this ferocity of sentiment (says Sir John Barrow) towards a youth, who had in point of fact no concern in the mutiny, is by a reference to certain points of evidence given by Hayward, Hallet, and Purcell, on the court-martial, each point wholly unsupported. Those in the boat would, no doubt, during their long passage, often discuss the conduct of their messmates left in the Bounty, and the unsupported evidence given by these three was well calculated to create in Bligh's mind a prejudice against young Heywood; yet, if so, it affords but a poor excuse for harrowing up the feelings of near and dear relatives.

As a contrast to these ungracious letters, it is a great

relief to peruse the correspondence that took place between this unfortunate young officer and his dreadfully afflicted family. The letters of his sister, Nessy Heywood, exhibit so lively and ardent affection for her beloved brother, and are so nobly answered by the suffering youth, that no apology seems to be required for their introduction. After a state of long suspense, this young lady thus addresses her brother:

"*Isle of Man, 2d June* 1792.

"In a situation of mind only rendered supportable by the long and painful state of misery and suspense we have suffered on his account, how shall I address my dear, my fondly-beloved brother?—how describe the anguish we have felt at the idea of this long and painful separation, rendered still more distressing by the terrible circumstances attending it? Oh! my ever dearest boy, when I look back to that dreadful moment which brought us the fatal intelligence that you had remained in the Bounty after Mr Bligh had quitted her, and were looked upon by him as a *mutineer!*—when I contrast that day of horror with my present hopes of again beholding you, such as my most sanguine wishes could expect, I know not which is the most predominant sensation—pity, compassion, and terror for your sufferings, or joy and satisfaction at the prospect of their being near a termination, and of once more embracing the dearest object of our affections.

"I will not ask you, my beloved brother, whether you are innocent of the dreadful crime of mutiny, if the transactions of that day were as Mr Bligh has represented them; such is my conviction of your worth and honour, that I will, without hesitation, stake my life on your innocence. If, on the contrary, you were concerned in such a conspiracy against your commander, I shall be as firmly persuaded his conduct was the occasion of it; but, alas! could any occasion justify so atrocious an attempt to destroy a number of our fellow-creatures? No, my ever dearest brother, nothing but conviction from your own mouth can possibly persuade me, that you would commit an action in the smallest degree inconsistent with honour and duty; and the circumstance of your having swam off to the Pandora on her arrival at Otaheite (which filled us with joy to which no words can do justice), is sufficient to convince all who know you, that you certainly stayed behind either by force or from views of preservation.

"How strange does it seem to me that I am now engaged in the delightful task of writing to you! Alas! my beloved brother, two years ago I never expected again to enjoy such a felicity, and even yet I am in the most painful uncertainty

whether you are alive. Gracious God, grant that we may be at length blessed by your return! but, alas! the Pandora's people have been long expected, and are not even yet arrived. Should any accident have happened, after all the miseries you have already suffered, the poor gleam of hope with which we have been lately indulged, will render our situation ten thousand times more insupportable than if time had inured us to your loss. I send this to the care of Mr Hayward of Hackney, father to the young gentleman you so often mention in your letters when you were on board the Bounty, and who went out as third lieutenant in the Pandora—a circumstance which gave us infinite satisfaction, as you would, on entering the Pandora, meet your old friend. On discovering old Mr Hayward's residence, I wrote to him, as I hoped he would give me some information respecting the time of your arrival, and in return he sent me a most friendly letter, and has promised this shall be given you when you reach England, as I well know how great your anxiety must be to hear of us, and how much satisfaction it will give you to have a letter immediately on your return. Let me conjure you, my dearest Peter, to write to us the very first moment—do not lose a post—'tis of no consequence how short your letter may be, if it only informs us you are well. I need not tell you that you are the first and dearest object of our affections. Think, then, my adored boy, of the anxiety we must feel on your account: for my own part, I can know no real joy or happiness independent of you; and if any misfortune should now deprive us of you, my hopes of felicity are fled for ever.

"We are at present making all possible interest with every friend and connection we have, to ensure you a sufficient support and protection at your approaching trial; for a trial you must unavoidably undergo, in order to convince the world of that innocence, which those who know you will not for a moment doubt; but, alas! while circumstances are against you, the generality of mankind will judge severely. Bligh's representations to the Admiralty, are, I am told, very unfavourable, and hitherto the tide of public opinion has been greatly in his favour. My mamma is at present well, considering the distress she has suffered since you left us; for, my dearest brother, we have experienced a complicated scene of misery from a variety of causes, which, however, when compared with the sorrow we felt on your account, was trifling and insignificant; *that* misfortune made all others light; and to see you once more returned, and safely restored to us, will be the summit of all earthly happiness.

"Farewell, my most beloved brother! God grant this may

soon be put into your hands! Perhaps at this moment you are arrived in England, and I may soon have the dear delight of again beholding you. My mamma, brothers, and sisters, join with me in every sentiment of love and tenderness. Write to us immediately, my ever-loved Peter, and may the Almighty preserve you until you bless with your presence your fondly affectionate family, and particularly your unalterably faithful friend and sister.

"NESSY HEYWOOD."

The gleam of joy which this unhappy family derived from the circumstance, which had been related to them, of young Heywood's swimming off to the Pandora, was dissipated by a letter from himself to his mother, soon after his arrival in England, in which he says: "The question, my dear mother, in one of your letters, concerning my swimming off to the Pandora, is one falsity among the too many, in which I have often thought of undeceiving you, and as frequently forgot. The story was this: On the morning she arrived, accompanied by two of my friends (natives), I was going up the mountains, and having got about a hundred yards from my own house, another of my friends (for I was a universal favourite among those Indians, and perfectly conversant in their language) came running after me, and informed me there was a ship coming. I immediately ascended a rising ground, and saw, with indescribable joy, a ship lying-to off Hapiano; it was just after daylight, and thinking Coleman might not be awake, and therefore ignorant of this pleasing news, I sent one of my servants to inform him of it, upon which he immediately went off in a single canoe. There was a fresh breeze, and the ship working into the bay; he no sooner got alongside than the rippling capsized the canoe, and he being obliged to let go the towrope to get her righted, went astern, and was picked up the next tack, and taken on board the Pandora, he being the first person. I, along with my messmate Stewart, was then standing upon the beach with a double canoe, manned with twelve paddles ready for launching; and just as she made her last tack into her berth (for we did not think it requisite to go off sooner), we put off and got alongside just as they streamed the buoy; and being dressed in the country manner, tanned as brown as themselves, and I *tattooed* like them in the most curious manner, I do not in the least wonder at their taking us for natives. I was tattooed, not to gratify my own desire, but theirs; for it was my constant endeavour to acquiesce in any little custom which I thought would be agreeable to them, though painful in the process, provided I gained by it their friendship and esteem, which

you may suppose is no inconsiderable object in an island where the natives are so numerous. The more a man or woman there is tattooed, the more they are respected ; and a person having none of these marks is looked upon as bearing an unworthy badge of disgrace, and considered as a mere outcast of society."

Among the many anxious friends and family connections of the Heywoods was Commodore Pasley, to whom this affectionate young lady addressed herself on the melancholy occasion ; and the following is the reply she received from this officer :

"*Sheerness, June* 8, 1792.

"Would to God, my dearest Nessy, that I could rejoice with you on the early prospect of your brother's arrival in England. One division of the Pandora's people has arrived, and now on board the Vengeance (my ship). Captain Edwards, with the remainder, and all the prisoners late of the Bounty, in number ten (four having been drowned on the loss of that ship), are daily expected. They have been most rigorously and closely confined since taken, and will continue so, no doubt, till Bligh's arrival. You have no chance of seeing him, for no bail can be offered. Your intelligence of his swimming off on the Pandora's arrival is not founded ; a man of the name of Coleman swam off ere she anchored—your brother and Mr Stewart the next day. This last youth, when the Pandora was lost, refused to allow his irons to be taken off to save his life.

"I cannot conceal it from you, my dearest Nessy, neither is it proper I should, your brother appears by all accounts to be the greatest culprit of all, Christian alone excepted. Every exertion, you may rest assured, I shall use to save his life ; but on trial I have no hope of his not being condemned. Three of the ten who are expected are mentioned in Bligh's narrative as men detained against their inclination. Would to God your brother had been one of that number ! I will not distress you more by enlarging on this subject ; as intelligence arises on their arrival, you shall be made acquainted. Adieu ! my dearest Nessy. Present my affectionate remembrances to your mother and sisters, and believe me always, with the warmest affection, your uncle, THOS. PASLEY."

How unlike is this from the letter of Bligh ! While it frankly apprises this amiable lady of the real truth of the case, without disguise, as it was then understood to be from Bligh's representations, it assures her of his best exertions to save her brother's life. Every reader of sensibility will sympathise in the feeling displayed in her reply :

"*Isle of Man,*

"*22d June* 1792.

"Harassed by the most tor-

turing suspense, and miserably wretched as I have been, my dearest uncle, since the receipt of your last, conceive, if it is possible, the heartfelt joy and satisfaction we experienced yesterday morning, when, on the arrival of the packet, the delightful letter from our beloved Peter (a copy of which I send you enclosed) was brought to us. Surely, my excellent friend, you will agree with me in thinking there could not be a stronger proof of his innocence and worth, and that it must prejudice every person who reads it most powerfully in his favour. Such a letter in less distressful circumstances than those in which he writes, would, I am persuaded, reflect honour on the pen of a person much older than my poor brother. But when we consider his extreme youth, (only sixteen at the time of the mutiny, and now but nineteen), his fortitude, patience, and manly resignation, under the pressure of sufferings and misfortunes almost unheard of and scarcely to be supported at any age, without the assistance of that which seems to be my dear brother's greatest comfort — a quiet conscience, and a thorough conviction of his own innocence; — when I add, at the same time, with real pleasure and satisfaction, that his relation corresponds in many particulars with the accounts we have hitherto heard of the fatal mutiny; and when I also add, with inconceivable pride and delight, that my beloved Peter was never known to breathe a syllable inconsistent with truth and honour; — when these circumstances, my dear uncle, are all united, what man on earth can doubt of the innocence which could dictate such a letter? In short, let it speak for him: the perusal of his artless and pathetic story will, I am persuaded, be a stronger recommendation in his favour than anything I can urge.*

"I need not tire your patience, my ever-loved uncle, by dwelling longer on this subject (the dearest and most interesting on earth to my heart); let me conjure you only, my kind friend, to read it, and consider the innocence and defenceless situation of its unfortunate author, which calls for, and I am sure deserves, all the pity and assistance his friends can afford him, and which, I am sure also, the goodness and benevolence of your heart, will prompt you to exert in his behalf. It is perfectly unnecessary for me to add, after the anxiety I feel, and cannot but express, that no benefit conferred upon myself, will be acknowledged with half the gratitude I must ever feel, for the smallest instance of kindness shown to my beloved Peter. Farewell, my dearest uncle. With the firmest reliance on your kind and generous promises, I am, ever with the

* This interesting letter is given in the following chapter, to which it appropriately belongs.

truest gratitude and sincerity, your most affectionate niece,

"NESSY HEYWOOD."

This correspondence is not quoted with the view of making a vain appeal to the proofs it gives of kindly affections, as evidence against such criminality as was shown by taking an active part in the mutiny of the Bounty. Kindly affections and the greatest criminality of any kind, are quite compatible in the same person. The letters, however, awaken our sympathies towards the memory of young Heywood; they show clearly that he was not the ungrateful wretch his captain represented him as being; and they argue that out of such materials, Bligh might have succeeded in producing something better than a mutiny—in a word, that a great proportion of the blame of the whole dark affair, must be laid to his account, and to that of the system of naval command, from which captains took their tone, and trained their tempers in those days. The next chapter introduces us to another specimen of a naval captain of the period.

CHAPTER III.

IN PURSUIT OF THE MUTINEERS.

BLIGH was the hero of the hour in England, after his sufferings and his bravery and daring in the open boat became known. There was a cry of indignation against Fletcher Christian and his associates. Bligh was promoted by the Admiralty to the rank of Commander, and sent out a second time to secure the bread-fruit tree as cheap food for the slaves in the West Indies, and he secured and transported all the plants he was sent for.

Government resolved to bring condign punishment down upon every one of the mutineers. Preparatory to this—for it was desirable to catch them first—the frigate Pandora, of twenty-four guns, and one hundred and sixty men, was despatched under the command of Captain Edward Edwards, with orders to proceed direct to Otaheite, and secure the mutineers, if they were there; if not, to visit the different groups of the Society and Friendly Islands, and others in the neighbouring regions of the Pacific, and use his best endeavours to seize as many of the delinquents as he could discover, and bring them home in chains. The captain succeeded so far as to take

fourteen of the mutineers, ten of whom he brought to England, the other four being drowned when the Pandora was wrecked.

Mr George Hamilton, the surgeon, published an account of this voyage, in a small rather unreadable volume, and rather void of information. Captain Edwards' report to the Admiralty is a very unsatisfactory production—as vague as it is unsatisfactory in all other respects. A journal kept by James Morrison, formerly boatswain's mate in the Bounty, and a circumstantial letter written by Peter Heywood to his mother, are our most reliable sources of information.

The Pandora anchored in Matavai Bay on the 23d March 1791. Captain Edwards, in his narrative, states that Joseph Coleman, the armourer of the Bounty, attempted to come on board before the Pandora had anchored; that on reaching the ship, he began to make inquiries of him after the Bounty and her people, and that he seemed to be ready to give him any information that was required; that the next who came on board, just after the ship had anchored, were Mr Peter Heywood and Mr Stewart, before any boat had been sent on shore; that they were brought down to his cabin, when, after some conversation, Heywood asked if Mr Hayward (midshipman of the Bounty, but now lieutenant of the Pandora) was on board, as he had heard that he was; that Lieutenant Hayward, whom he sent for, treated Heywood with a sort of contemptuous look, and began to enter into conversation with him respecting the Bounty; but Edwards ordered him to desist, and called in the sentinel to take the prisoners into safe custody, and to put them in irons; that other four mutineers soon made their appearance; and that from them and some of the natives, he learned that the rest of the Bounty's people had built a schooner, with which they had sailed the day before from Matavai Bay to the N.W. part of the island. He despatched two lieutenants with the pinnace and launch to intercept her, but they failed. The schooner subsequently returned to Paparré, where the same two lieutenants, Corner and Hayward, found her, but the mutineers had fled to the mountains. In two days, however, they came down again, and Captain Edwards drew up his men to receive them, called on them to lay down their arms and to go on one side, with which summons the mutineers complying, they were seized and brought prisoners to the ship.

The following are the names of the prisoners on board the Pandora: Peter Heywood and George Stewart, midshipmen; James Morrison, boatswain's mate; Charles Norman, carpenter's mate; Thomas M'Intosh, of the carpenter's crew; Joseph Coleman, armourer; Richard Skinner, Thomas Ellison, Henry Hillbrant, Thomas Burkitt, John

Millward, John Sumner, William Muspratt, Richard Bryan, seamen,—in all, fourteen. Captain Edwards had a round-house built on the after-part of the quarterdeck for the mutineers, whom he calls pirates. While the Pandora lay to, the prisoners' wives visited her daily, and brought their children, who were allowed to be carried to their unhappy fathers. The wives brought their husbands also ample supplies of every delicacy the country afforded. What a parting! These poor women and children, what became of them afterwards? Of their fidelity and attachment an instance is afforded in the touching story which is told in the first Missionary Voyage of the Duff, of the poor wife of George Stewart. It is this:

"The history of Peggy Stewart marks a tenderness of heart that never will be heard without emotion. She was daughter of a chief, and taken for his wife by Mr Stewart, one of the unhappy mutineers. They had lived with the old chief in the most tender state of endearment; a beautiful little girl had been the fruit of their union, and was at the breast when the Pandora arrived, seized the criminals, and secured them in irons on board the ship. Frantic with grief, the unhappy Peggy (for so he had named her) flew with her infant in a canoe to the arms of her husband. The interview was so affecting and afflicting, that the officers on board were overwhelmed with anguish; and Stewart himself, unable to bear the heart-rending scene, begged she might not be admitted again on board. She was separated from him by violence, and conveyed on shore in a state of despair and grief too big for utterance. Withheld from him, and forbidden to come any more on board, she sunk into the deepest dejection; it preyed on her vitals; she lost all relish for food and life, rejoiced no more, pined under a rapid decay of two months, and fell a victim to her feelings, dying literally of a broken heart. Her child is yet alive, and the tender object of our care, having been brought up by a sister, who nursed it as her own, and has discharged all the duties of an affectionate mother to the orphan infant."

It does not appear that Heywood formed any matrimonial engagement in Otaheite.

All the mutineers in the island having been secured, the Pandora proceeded to search for those who had left in the Bounty. It should be mentioned that Churchill and Thompson, two of the mutineers, had met violent deaths before the arrival of Captain Edwards. Thompson shot Churchill, for which the natives stoned him to death. His skull was brought on board the Pandora.

Captain Edwards had no clue to guide him as to the route taken by the Bounty; but he learned from different people and from journals kept on board that ship, which were found in

the chests of the mutineers at Otaheite, the proceedings of Christian and his associates, after Bligh and his companions had been turned adrift in the launch. From these it appears that the pirates proceeded in the first instance to the island of Toobouai, in lat. 20° 13′ S., long. 149° 35′ W., where they anchored on the 25th May 1789. At this island it seems they intended to form a settlement; but the opposition of the natives, the want of many necessary materials, and quarrels among themselves, determined them to go to Otaheite to procure what might be required to effect their purpose, provided they should agree to prosecute their original intention. They accordingly sailed from Toobouai about the latter end of the month, and arrived at Otaheite on the 6th June. The Otoo, or reigning sovereign, and other principal natives, were very inquisitive and anxious to know what had become of Captain Bligh and the rest of the crew, and also what had been done with the bread-fruit plants. They were told they had most unexpectedly fallen in with Captain Cook at an island he had just discovered, called Whytootakee, where he intended to form a settlement and where the plants had been landed; and that Captain Bligh and the others were stopping there to assist Captain Cook; that he had appointed Mr Christian commander of the Bounty, and that he had been sent for a supply of hogs, goats, fowls, bread-fruit, and other articles. This story imposed on the islanders. The things wanted were speedily supplied, as well as eight men, nine women, and seven boys besides whom they took with them. They left Otaheite on the 19th of June, and arrived a second time at Toobouai on the 26th. They could not agree among themselves about settling here, and they sailed from Toobouai on the 15th, and arrived once more at Matavai Bay on the 20th September 1789. Here the sixteen mutineers already accounted for were put on shore at their own request, the remaining nine resolving to abide by the Bounty, which sailed finally from Otaheite on the night of the 21st September. They took with them seven Otaheite men and twelve women. On the 8th of May 1791, the Pandora left Otaheite. She called at numerous islands, but met with none of the men she was in search of. After a fruitless cruise of three months, the Pandora arrived, on the 29th August, at the coast of New Holland, and came close to that dangerous reef of coral rocks, called the "Barrier Reef," which runs along the greater part of the eastern coast, at a considerable distance from it. The boat had been sent out to look for an opening which was not difficult to find, but during the night the Pandora drifted past it. Next day she struck

upon the reef. The leak increased so fast that all hands were turned to the pumps, and to bale at the hatchways. In little more than an hour and a half after she struck, there were eight feet and a half of water in the hold. During the night two of the pumps were rendered useless; one of them, however, was repaired, and kept wearily baling and pumping in the vain hope of keeping the ship afloat. Seeing that their efforts were hopeless, the captain and officers resolved to take to the four boats, which, with careful hands in them, were kept astern of the ship.

About half-past six in the morning the hold was full, and the water was between decks, and it also washed in at the upper-deck ports, and there were strong indications that the ship was on the very point of sinking; they began to leap overboard and take to the boats, and, before everybody could get out of her, she actually sunk.

On subsequently mustering the people that were saved, it was found that eighty-nine of the ship's company, and ten of the mutineer prisoners answered their names; but thirty-one of the ship's company and four mutineers were lost with the ship. The mutineers had a sorry time of it during the preliminaries of this shipwreck. Three of them, Coleman, Norman, and M'Intosh, were let out of irons, and sent to work at the pumps. The others begged to be allowed a chance of helping to save their own lives as well as the lives of their fellow voyagers. The answer to their prayer was two additional sentinels placed over them, with orders to shoot any who should attempt to get free from their chains. "Seeing no prospect of escape," Lieutenant Corner tells us, "they betook themselves to prayer, and prepared to meet their fate, everyone expecting that the ship would soon go to pieces." When the ship was actually sinking, and every effort was being made for the preservation of the crew, no notice was taken of the prisoners, although Captain Edwards was entreated by Mr Heywood to have mercy upon them, when he passed over their prison, to make his own escape, the ship then lying on her broadside, with the larboard bow completely under water. Fortunately the master-at-arms, either by accident or design, when slipping from the roof of the round-house in which they were imprisoned into the sea, let the keys of the irons fall through the scuttle or entrance, which he had just before opened, and thus enabled them to commence their own liberation, in which they were generously assisted, at the imminent risk of his own life, by William Moulter, a boatswain's mate, who clung to the coamings, and pulled the long bars through the shackles, saying he would set them free, or go to the bottom

with them. Scarcely was this effected, when the ship went down, leaving nothing visible but the top-mast cross-trees. The master-at-arms and all the sentinels sunk to rise no more. The cries of them and the other drowning men were awful in the extreme; and more than half an hour had elapsed before the survivors could be taken up by the boats. Among the former were Mr Stewart, John Sumner, Richard Skinner, and Henry Hillbrant, the whole of whom perished with their hands still in manacles.

On this melancholy occasion, Mr Heywood was the last person but three who escaped from the prison, into which the water had already found its way through the bulk-head scuttles. Jumping overboard, he seized a plank, and was swimming towards a small sandy key, about three miles distant, when a boat picked him up, and conveyed him thither in a state of nudity. James Morrison followed his young companion's example; and, although handcuffed, he managed to keep afloat until a boat came to his assistance.

The conduct of Captain Edwards on this occasion does not argue much for his humanity.

On the sandy key which fortunately presented itself, they hauled up the boats, to repair those that were damaged, and to stretch canvas round the gunwales, the better to prevent the sea from breaking into them. The heat of the sun and the reflection from the sand tortured the wretches who had just escaped from a grave in the sea; and the salt water they had taken in while swimming, created an excruciating thirst. One of the seamen, Connell, went mad from the salt water he drank.

The crew and the prisoners were distributed among the four boats, which sailed away among the islands and near the shore, where they now and then stopped to pick up a few oysters, and procure a little fresh water. On the 2d September, they passed the N.W. point of New Holland, and launched into the Indian Ocean, with a voyage of about a thousand miles before them. Captain Edwards had four boats; poor Bligh had only one, when he sailed in circumstances somewhat similar, and even a great deal worse.

On the 13th, they saw the island of Timor, and the next morning landed and got some water, and a few small fish from the natives; and, on the night of the 15th, anchored opposite the fort of Coupang. Nothing could exceed the kindness and hospitality of the governor and other Dutch officers of this settlement, in affording every possible assistance and relief in their distressed condition. Having remained here three weeks, they embarked, on the 6th October, on board the Rembang Dutch Indiaman, and on the 30th anchored at Samarang, where they were agreeably sur-

prised to find their little tender, which they had so long given up for lost. On the 7th November they arrived at Batavia, where Captain Edwards agreed with the Dutch East India Company, to divide the whole of the ship's company and prisoners among four of their ships proceeding to Europe. The latter the captain took with him in the Vreedenburgh; but, finding his Majesty's ship Gorgon at the Cape, he transhipped himself and prisoners, and proceeded in her to Spithead, where he arrived on the 19th June 1792.

Captain Edwards, in his narrative, never mentions the prisoners from the day he leaves them bound in chains in that "Pandora's Box," which he built for them. He does not seem to have been a man of much sympathetic feeling; and he was subsequently pronounced by public opinion to have exercised an undue degree of severity towards the prisoners, most of whom, it is to be remembered, had surrendered themselves, thus giving him the least possible amount of trouble to capture them. The following letter from Peter Heywood to his mother will be read with very deep interest at this stage of the story of "The Bounty and Her Mutineers."

"*Batavia*,
"*November* 25, 1791.

"My ever-honoured and dearest mother,—At length the time has arrived when you are once more to hear from your ill-fated son, whose conduct at the capture of that ship, in which it was my fortune to embark, has, I fear, from what has since happened to me, been grossly misrepresented to you by Lieutenant Bligh, who, by not knowing the real cause of my remaining on board, naturally suspected me, unhappily for me, to be a coadjutor in the mutiny; but I never, to my knowledge, whilst under his command, behaved myself in a manner unbecoming the station I occupied, nor so much as even entertained a thought derogatory to his honour, so as to give him the least grounds for entertaining an opinion of me so ungenerous and undeserved; for I flatter myself he cannot give a character of my conduct, whilst I was under his tuition, that could merit the slightest scrutiny. Oh! my dearest mother, I hope you have not so easily credited such an account of me: do but let me vindicate my conduct, and declare to you the true cause of my remaining in the ship, and you will then see how little I deserve censure, and how I have been injured by so gross an aspersion. I shall then give you a short and cursory account of what has happened to me since; but I am afraid to say a hundredth part of what I have got in store, for I am not allowed the use of writing materials, if known; so that this is done by stealth; but if it should ever come to your hands, it will, I

hope, have the desired effect of removing your uneasiness on my account, when I assure you, before the face of God, of my innocence of what is laid to my charge. How I came to remain on board was thus:

"The morning the ship was taken, it being my watch below, happening to awake just after daylight, and looking out of my hammock, I saw a man sitting upon the arm-chest in the main hatch-way, with a drawn cutlass in his hand, the reason of which I could not divine; so I got out of bed, and inquired of him what was the cause of it. He told me that Mr Christian, assisted by some of the ship's company, had seized the captain and put him in confinement; had taken the command of the ship, and meant to carry Bligh home a prisoner, in order to try him by court-martial, for his long tyrannical and oppressive conduct to his people. I was quite thunderstruck; and hurrying into my berth again, told one of my messmates, whom I awakened out of his sleep, what had happened. Then, dressing myself, I went up the fore-hatch-way, and saw what he had told me was but too true; and again I asked some of the people who were under arms, what was going to be done with the captain, who was then on the larboard side of the quarter-deck, with his hands tied behind his back, and Mr Christian alongside of him with a pistol and drawn bayonet. I now heard a very different story, and that the captain was to be sent ashore to Tofoa in the launch, and that those who would not join Mr Christian, might either accompany the captain, or would be taken in arms to Otaheite and left there. The relation of two stories so different, left me unable to judge which could be the true one; but seeing them hoisting the boats out, it seemed to prove the latter.

"In this trying situation, young and inexperienced as I was, and without an adviser (every person being as it were infatuated, and not knowing what to do), I remained for a while a silent spectator of what was going on; and after revolving the matter in my mind, I determined to choose what I thought the lesser of two evils, and stay by the ship; for I had no doubt that those who went on shore in the launch would be put to death by the savage natives, whereas the Otaheitans being a humane and generous race, one might have a hope of being kindly received, and remain there until the arrival of some ship, which seemed, to silly me, the most consistent with reason and rectitude.

"While this resolution possessed my mind, at the same time lending my assistance to hoist out the boats, the hurry and confusion affairs were in, and thinking my intentions just, I never thought of going to Mr Bligh for advice; besides, what confirmed me in it was my seeing

two experienced officers, when ordered into the boat by Mr Christian, desire his permission to remain in the ship, one of whom (my own messmate, Mr Hayward), and I being assisting to clear the launch of yams, he asked me what I intended to do? I told him, to remain in the ship. Now this answer, I imagine, he has told Mr Bligh I made to him; from which, together with my not speaking to him that morning, his suspicions of me have arisen, construing my conduct into what is foreign to my nature.

"Thus, my dearest mother, it was all owing to my youth and unadvised inexperience, but has been interpreted into villainy and disregard of my country's laws, the ill effects of which I at present, and still am to, labour under for some months longer. And now, after what I have asserted, I may still once more retrieve my injured reputation, be again reinstated in the affection and favour of the most tender of mothers, and be still considered as her ever dutiful son.

"I was not undeceived in my erroneous decision until too late, which was after the captain was in the launch; for, while I was talking to the master-at-arms, one of the ringleaders in the affair, my other messmate whom I had left in his hammock in the berth, Mr Stewart, came up to me, and asked me if I was not going in the launch? I replied, No—upon which he told me not to think of such a thing as remaining behind, but take his advice, and go down below with him to get a few necessary things, and make haste to go with him into the launch; adding that, by remaining in the ship, I should incur an equal share of guilt with the mutineers themselves. I reluctantly followed his advice—I say *reluctantly*, because I knew no better, and was foolish; and the boat swimming very deep in the water—the land being very far distant—the thoughts of being sacrificed by the natives—and the self-consciousness of my first intention being just; all these considerations almost staggered my resolution. However, I preferred my companion's judgment to my own, and we both jumped down the main-hatchway to prepare ourselves for the boat; but no sooner were we in the berth, than the master-at-arms ordered the sentry to keep us both in the berth till he should receive orders to release us. We desired the master-at-arms to acquaint Mr Bligh of our intention, which we had reason to think he never did, nor were we permitted to come on deck until the launch was a long way astern. I now, when too late, saw my error.

"At the latter end of May, we got to an island to the southward of Taheité, called Tooboui, where they intended to make a settlement; but, finding no stock there of any kind, they agreed to go to Taheité, and,

after procuring hogs and fowls, to return to Tooboui and remain. So, on the 6th June, we arrived at Taheité, where I was in hopes I might find an opportunity of running away, and remaining on shore; but I could not effect it, as there was always too good a look-out kept to prevent any such steps being taken. And, besides, they had all sworn that, should any one make his escape, they would force the natives to restore him, and would then shoot him as an example to the rest; well knowing, that any one, by remaining there, might be the means (should a ship arrive) of discovering their intended place of abode. Finding it therefore impracticable, I saw no other alternative but to rest as content as possible, and return to Tooboui, and there wait till the masts of the Bounty should be taken out, and then take the boat which might carry me to Taheité, and disable those remaining from pursuit. But Providence so ordered it, that we had no occasion to try our fortune at such a hazard; for, upon returning there and remaining till the latter end of August, at which time a fort was almost built, but nothing could be effected; and as the natives could not be brought to friendly terms, and with whom we had many skirmishes, and narrow escapes from being cut off by them, and, what was still worse, internal broils and discontent—these things determined part of the people to leave the island, and go to Taheité, which was carried by a majority of votes.

"This being carried into execution on the 22d September, and having anchored in Matavai Bay, the next morning my messmate, Mr Stewart, and I went on shore to the house of an old landed proprietor, our former friend; and, being now set free from a lawless crew, determined to remain as much apart from them as possible, and wait patiently for the arrival of a ship. Fourteen more of the Bounty's people came likewise on shore, and Mr Christian and eight men went away with the ship, but God knows whither. Whilst we remained here, we were treated by our kind and friendly natives with a generosity and humanity almost unparalleled, and such as we could hardly have expected from the most civilised people.

"To be brief—having remained here till the latter end of March 1791, on the 26th of that month, His Majesty's ship Pandora arrived, and had scarcely anchored, when my messmate and I went on board and made ourselves known; and having learned from one of the natives who had been off in a canoe, that our former messmate, Mr Hayward, now promoted to the rank of lieutenant, was on board, we asked for him, supposing he might prove the assertion of our innocence. But he (like all worldlings when

raised a little in life) received us very coolly, and pretended ignorance of our affairs; yet, formerly, he and I were bound in brotherly love and friendship. Appearances being so much against us, we were ordered to be put in irons, and looked upon—oh, infernal words!—as *piratical villains*. A rebuff so severe as this was to a person unused to troubles, would perhaps have been insupportable; but to me, who had now been long inured to the frowns of fortune, and feeling myself supported by an inward consciousness of not deserving it, it was received with the greatest composure, and a full determination to bear it with patience.

"My sufferings, however, I have not power to describe; but though they are great, yet I thank God for enabling me to bear them without repining. I endeavour to qualify my affliction with these three considerations: first, my innocence not deserving them; secondly, that they cannot last long; and, thirdly, that the change may be for the better. The first improves my hopes; the second, my patience; and the third, my courage. I am young in years, but old in what the world calls adversity; and it has had such an effect, as to make me consider it the most beneficial incident that could have occurred at my age. It has made me acquainted with three things which are little known, and as little believed, by any but those who have felt their effects: first, the villainy and censoriousness of mankind; secondly, the futility of all human hopes; and, thirdly, the happiness of being content in whatever station it may please Providence to place me. In short, it has made me more of a philosopher than many years of a life spent in ease and pleasure would have done.

"As they will no doubt proceed to the greatest lengths against me, I being the only surviving officer, and they most inclined to believe a prior story, all that can be said to confute it will probably be looked upon as mere falsity and invention. Should that be my unhappy case, and they resolved upon my destruction as an example to futurity, may God enable me to bear my fate with the fortitude of a man, conscious that misfortune, not any misconduct, is the cause, and that the Almighty can attest my innocence. Yet why should I despond? I have, I hope, still a friend in that Providence which hath preserved me amid many greater dangers, and upon whom alone I now depend for safety. God will always protect those who deserve it. These are the sole considerations which have enabled me to make myself easy and content under my past misfortunes.

"Twelve more of the people who were at Otaheité having delivered themselves up, there was a sort of a prison built on

the after-part of the quarter-deck, into which we were all put in close confinement, with both legs and both hands in irons, and were treated with great rigour, not being allowed ever to get out of this den; and, being obliged to eat, drink, sleep, and obey the calls of nature here, you may form some idea of the disagreeable situation I must have been in, unable as I was to help myself (being deprived of the use of both my legs and hands), but by no means adequate to the reality.

"On the 9th May we left Otaheité, and proceeded to the Friendly Islands, and, about the beginning of August, got in among the reefs of New Holland, to endeavour to discover a passage through them: but it was not effected; for the Pandora, ever unlucky, and as if devoted by Heaven to destruction, was driven by a current upon the patch of a reef, and on which, there being a heavy surf, she was soon almost bulged to pieces; but having thrown all the guns on one side overboard, and the tide flowing at the same time, she beat over the reef into a bason, and brought up in fourteen or fifteen fathoms; but she was so much damaged while on the reef, that, imagining she would go to pieces every moment, we had contrived to wrench ourselves out of our irons, and applied to the captain to have mercy on us, and suffer us to take our chance for the preservation of our lives; but it was all in vain—he was even so inhuman as to order us all to be put in irons again, though the ship was expected to go down every moment, being scarcely able to keep her under with all the pumps at work.

"In this miserable situation, with an expected death before our eyes, without the least hope of relief, and in the most trying state of suspense, we spent the night, the ship being by the hand of Providence kept up till the morning. The boats by this time had all been prepared; and as the captain and officers were coming upon the poop or roof of our prison, to abandon the ship, the water being then up to the combings of the hatchways, we again implored his mercy; upon which he sent the corporal and an armourer down to let some of us out of irons; but three only were suffered to go up, and the scuttle being then clapped on, and the master-at-arms upon it, the armourer had only time to let two persons out of irons, the rest, except three, letting themselves out: two of these three went down with them on their hands, and the third was picked up. She now began to heel over to port so very much, that, the master-at-arms sliding overboard, and leaving the scuttle vacant, we all tried to get up, and I was the last out but three. The water was then pouring in at the bulk-head scuttles; yet I succeeded in getting out, and

was scarcely in the sea when I could see nothing above it but the cross-trees, and nothing around me but a scene of the greatest distress. I took a plank (being stark naked) and swam towards an island about three miles off, but was picked up on my passage by one of the boats. When we got ashore to the small sandy key, we found there were thirty-four men drowned, four of whom were prisoners, and among these was my unfortunate messmate, Mr Stewart: ten of us, and eighty-nine of the Pandora's crew were saved.

"When a survey was made of what provisions had been saved, they were found to consist of two or three bags of bread, two or three beakers of water, and a little wine; so we subsisted three days upon two wine-glasses of water and two ounces of bread per day. On the 1st September we left the island, and on the 16th arrived at Coupang in the island of Timor, having been on short allowance eighteen days. We were put in confinement in the castle, where we remained till October, and on the 5th of that month were sent on board a Dutch ship bound for Batavia.

"Though I have been eight months in close confinement in a hot climate, I have kept my health in a most surprising manner, without the least indisposition, and am still perfectly well in every respect, in mind as well as body; but without a friend, and only a shirt and a pair of trousers to put on, and carry me home. Yet, with all this, I have a contented mind, entirely resigned to the will of Providence, which conduct alone enables me to soar above the reach of unhappiness."

Even after they were taken ashore at Batavia, the treatment of these unfortunate prisoners was almost as bad as it had been on board the Pandora. They were imprisoned in the castle, closely confined in irons, and miserably fed. The hardships they endured in their passage to England in a Dutch ship were very severe, sleeping, as they had to sleep, for seventeen months, on hard boards, or wet canvas, always on short allowance, and without any clothes but what charity supplied, and practical charity on board ship has, at all times, very limited scope; in those days and circumstances, its scope could not be but very limited. Heywood had, however, during his imprisonment in Batavia, learned to make straw hats; and, having finished some with both hands in fetters, he sold them for half-a-crown a-piece. With the money thus acquired, he procured a suit of coarse clothes, in which, apparently with a light and cheerful heart, he arrived at Portsmouth.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COURT-MARTIAL.

THE ten prisoners reached this country in June, but the court-martial did not meet to try them till 12th September 1792. The president was Vice-Admiral Lord Hood. The members of court were Captains Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Bart., John Colpoys, Sir George Montagu, Sir Roger Curtis, John Bakely, Sir Andrew Snape Douglas, John Thomas Duckworth, John Nicholson Inglefield, John Knight, Albemarle Bertie, Richard Goodwin Reats. The trial took up six days. The witnesses examined were Fryer, the master of the Bounty; Peckover, the gunner; Purcell, the carpenter; Hayward and Hallet, now lieutenants; Captain Edwards, and Lieutenant Corner. The witnesses all except Hayward and Hallet seemed to give straightforward evidence with a kindly feeling towards the prisoners. It came out during cross-examination, that in the hurry and excitement of the moment when Bligh and his companions were being put in the open boat, an expectation arose that Fryer would make an attempt before leaving to recover the Bounty from Christian. He admitted if he had ventured on this trial of daring and pluck, Heywood and Morrison would have been the first he would have taken into counsel, and that he would have relied on them with confidence. Hayward does not come well out of the trial. It is never to be forgotten that at all trials—criminal trials and the trials of life—the witnesses are on their trial too. As they act truthfully and sympathetically, or the reverse, so are they judged of outside and afterwards by a wider or more limited public. Mr Hayward's evidence does not leave on the mind of one who has the patience to read it through, a desire to know any more about him. He seemed determined to do his best to secure a conviction, especially against his former bosom friend Heywood. This was of a piece with his conduct on board the Pandora in Matavai Bay, when Heywood gave himself up. Hallet again was the only one who saw Heywood laughing when Captain Bligh, with his hands tied behind him, made an earnest appeal to the latter. This was one of the points for which Heywood was condemned to death. Subsequently Hallet expressed deep regret for almost putting the neck of an old friend into the noose. He became convinced either that he did not see anybody laughing, or that it must have been somebody other than Heywood. This young gentleman read an eloquent defence, and

cross-examined the witnesses with skill and to the point. His mother had retained Erskine, then at the height of his fame, as counsel for the defence, but Heywood requested her to drop this expensive engagement, as it really would be of no avail in a trial by court-martial. Mr Aaron Graham, who had been secretary to the different admirals on the Newfoundland stations for twelve years, and was subsequently highly respected as a public magistrate in London, rendered Heywood valuable assistance in the get-up and management of his case. Morrison also, and the others who could say anything for themselves, read defences and cross-examined the witnesses. Ellison, Millward, and Burkitt, who had been obtrusively active at every stage of the mutiny, had little to offer either in defence or in exculpation of the charge against them. On the sixth day, that is the 18th of September, sentence was given: "That the charges had been proved against the said Peter Heywood, James Morrison, Thomas Ellison, Thomas Burkitt, John Millward, and William Muspratt; and did adjudge them, and each of them, to suffer death, by being hanged by the neck, on board such of His Majesty's ship or ships of war, and at such time or times, and at such place or places, as the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, etc., or any three of them, for the time being, should, in writing, under their hands, direct; but the Court, in consideration of various circumstances, did humbly and most earnestly recommend the said Peter Heywood and James Morrison to His Majesty's mercy; and the Court further agreed, that the charges had not been proved against the said Charles Norman, Joseph Coleman, Thomas M'Intosh, and Michael Byrne, and did adjudge them, and each of them, to be acquitted."

A very common feeling prevailed that Heywood and Morrison had been hardly dealt with, in having the sentence of death passed upon them, tempered though it was with a recommendation to the king's mercy. The court, however, had no discretionary power. They were bound to record either a sentence of death or a full acquittal. The case was a mutiny aggravated by the piratical seizure of a king's ship.

The four points which told against Heywood were—(1.) That he assisted in hoisting out the launch; (2.) That he was seen by the carpenter resting his hand upon a cutlass; (3.) That on being called to by Lieutenant Bligh, he laughed; (4.) That he remained in the Bounty, instead of accompanying Bligh in the launch. On these material parts of the evidence against him he drew up a very clear and manly memorandum, and got it transmitted to the Earl of

Chatham, then First Lord of the Admiralty. Friends outside, especially Heywood's uncle, Commodore Pasley, and Mr Graham, were indefatigable in their exertions to procure a pardon for the two men recommended to mercy—especially for Heywood. The final result was, that on the 24th October, the king's warrant was despatched from the Admiralty, granting a full and free pardon to Heywood and Morrison, a respite for Muspratt, which was followed by a pardon; and for carrying the sentence of Ellison, Burkitt, and Millward into execution, which was done on the 29th, on board his Majesty's ship Brunswick, in Portsmouth harbour. On this melancholy occasion, Captain Hamond reports that "the criminals behaved with great penitence and decorum, acknowledged the justice of their sentence for the crime of which they had been found guilty, and exhorted their fellow-sailors to take warning by their untimely fate, and whatever might be their hardships, never to forget their obedience to their officers, as a duty they owed to their king and country." The captain adds, "A party from each ship in the harbour, and at Spithead, attended the execution, and, from the reports I have received, the example seems to have made a great impression upon the minds of all the ships' companies present."

When the king's full and free pardon had been read to Heywood by Captain Montagu, with a suitable admonition and congratulation, he addressed that officer in the following terms: "Sir, when the sentence of the law was passed upon me, I received it, I trust, as became a man; and if it had been carried into execution, I should have met my fate, I hope, in a manner becoming a Christian. Your admonition cannot fail to make a lasting impression on my mind. I receive with gratitude my sovereign's mercy, for which my future life shall be faithfully devoted to his service." Heywood's future career was in no way prejudiced by the misfortunes of his early life. Lord Hood, who presided at the trial, earnestly recommended him to embark again as midshipman without delay, offering to take him into his own ship, the Victory. Commodore Pasley respectfully declined this offer on Heywood's behalf. He went first on board his uncle's ship, the Bellerophon. He was subsequently appointed lieutenant to La Nymph, and was actively employed in Lord Bridport's action off L'Orient, when three French ships were taken. As captain of the Leopard, Heywood made extensive surveys of the north-east and east coasts of Ceylon, and also of the coasts of India and the Eastern Islands. He was subsequently employed in important diplomatic services in South America. On his return, he served first in the North

Sea Fleet, and afterward in the Channel Squadron. His last appointment was to the Mediterranean Fleet under Viscount Exmouth. At the conclusion of the war, when the naval armaments were reduced, Captain Heywood retired into private life. The remaining years of his honourable life were spent in endeavours to further the interests of the navy, which kept him in constant communication with the hydrographical department of the Admiralty. "During his latter years," writes Lady Belcher, "Captain Heywood laboured under a fatal heart disease, which he bore with Christian calmness and thankfulness for the many blessings he had enjoyed, averring that, notwithstanding the sufferings and anxieties which had attended his early career, he would willingly pass through his life again, with all its trials and vicissitudes." He died on the 10th of February 1831.

After his release, Morrison served in several ships. When Admiral Sir Thomas Trowbridge was sent out in the Blenheim as commander-in-chief on the Indian station, he was appointed gunner on board the flag-ship.

A last word about Captain Bligh, in the language of Lady Belcher: "He was afterwards employed in active service, and on the occasion of the remarkable mutiny at the Nore, was ordered to negotiate among the seamen, with the view of bringing them to a sense of their duty; on which occasion he acted with great intrepidity. In the two famous actions of Cape St Vincent and Camperdown, Captain Bligh commanded the Glatton, and also at the battle of Copenhagen. On the latter occasion, Lord Nelson sent for him, and thanked him for his admirable support during the action.

"In 1805, he was appointed governor of New South Wales, and there his oppressive, arbitrary conduct raised against him a host of enemies. He had been instructed by the home government to restrain within certain limits the importation of spirits into the colony; and many men might have introduced this unpalatable reform without creating such hostile and dangerous opposition. Bligh, however, had no tact, no spirit of conciliation, and, in consequence, he was the cause of a *military* mutiny. In January 1808, the New South Wales corps, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel G. Johnstone, deposed Governor Bligh, and placed him on board a ship proceeding to England. On his arrival, the public were not surprised to hear he had been sent away in so summary a manner; but the Government were, of course, compelled to order a court-martial on Colonel Johnstone, who came to England with several officers for his trial. It was held in Chelsea Hospital, and lasted thirteen days. Colonel Johnstone was convicted of mutiny, and cash-

iered, but allowed to return to the colony, and no executions took place.

"Captain Bligh then retired into private life, where he appears to have displayed more amiability of character than in any public capacity, as he was beloved by his family and friends. He attained the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, and died in London at the age of sixty-five."

There are mutineers and men who have a faculty for provoking mutinies. Captain Bligh seems to have had the latter peculiarity in a large state of development. That such men do exist, and that their specialty finds ready scope when they are put in offices of trust and authority, is a fact which should never be overlooked when the circumstances of any riot, tumult, revolt, rebellion, or mutiny are being inquired into.

CHAPTER V.

PITCAIRN ISLAND.

TWENTY years had gone by, when a new interest was aroused in the matter of the Bounty and her mutineers, which has by various circumstances been kept fresh to the present day. Fletcher Christian and his fugitive associates had for that period ceased to occupy the general public mind. The subject had been dismissed on the assumption that the Bounty and those on board had gone to the bottom of the sea, or that the mutineers had met the retribution supposed to be justly due to their criminal conduct at the hands of one or other of the groups of savage islanders. An American trading vessel, however, made an accidental discovery, which was as interesting as it was wholly unexpected. The first intimation of this extraordinary discovery was transmitted by Sir Sydney Smith from Rio de Janeiro, and was received at the Admiralty on May 14, 1809. It was conveyed to Sir Sidney Smith from Valparaiso by Lieutenant Fitzmaurice, and ran thus: "Captain Folger, of the American ship Topaz, of Boston, relates that on landing on Pitcairn Island, in lat. 25° 2′ S., long. 130° W., he found there an Englishman, of the name of Alexander Smith, the only person remaining of nine that escaped in his Majesty's late ship Bounty, Captain W. Bligh. Smith relates that, after putting Captain Bligh in the boat, Christian, the leader of the mutiny, took command of the

ship and went to Otaheite, where great part of the crew left her, except Christian, Smith, and seven others, who each took wives, and six Otaheitan men-servants, and shortly after arrived at said island (Pitcairn), where they ran the ship on shore, and broke her up. This event took place in the year 1790.

"About four years after their arrival (a great jealousy existing), the Otaheitans secretly revolted, and killed every Englishman except himself, whom they severely wounded in the neck with a pistol-ball. The same night, the widows of the deceased Englishmen arose and put to death the whole of the Otaheitans, leaving Smith the only man alive upon the island, with eight or nine women and several small children. On his recovery he applied himself to tilling the ground, so that it now produces plenty of yams, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and plantains; hogs and poultry in abundance. There are now some grown-up men and women, children of the mutineers, on the island, the whole population amounting to about thirty-five, who acknowledge Smith as father and commander of them all: they all speak English, and have been educated by him (as Captain Folger represents) in a religious and moral way.

"The second mate of the Topaz asserts that Christian, the ringleader, became insane shortly after their arrival on the island, and threw himself off the rocks into the sea; another died of a fever before the massacre of the remaining six took place. The island is badly supplied with water, sufficient only for the present inhabitants, and no anchorage.

"Smith gave to Captain Folger a chronometer made by Kendall, which was taken from him by the governor of Juan Fernandez.

"Extracted from the log-book of the Topaz, 29th Sept. 1808.
"(Signed) WM. FITZMAURICE,
"Lieut.
"*Valparaiso, Oct.* 10, 1808."

This narrative stated two facts that established its general authenticity,—the name of Alexander Smith, who was one of the mutineers, and the name of the maker of the chronometer with which the Bounty was actually supplied. The war which was raging in Europe at that time, was too engrossing to leave the British government any time to take the measures which this well authenticated information would seem to have demanded. Nothing further was heard of Smith and his family till the latter part of 1814, when a letter was transmitted by Rear-Admiral Hotham, then cruising off the coast of America, from Mr Folger himself, to the same effect as the preceding extract from his log, but dated March 1813.

In 1814 the British government had two frigates cruising in the Pacific—the Briton, com-

manded by Sir Thomas Staines, and the Tagus, by Captain Pipon. The following letter from Sir Thomas Staines was received at the Admiralty early in the year 1815.

"*Briton, Valparaiso,*
"*18th October* 1814.

"I have the honour to inform you that on my passage from the Marquesas Islands to this port, on the morning of the 17th of September, I fell in with an island where none is laid down in the Admiralty or other charts, according to the several chronometers of the Briton and the Tagus. I therefore hove to, until daylight, and then closed to ascertain whether it was inhabited, which I soon discovered it to be, and to my great astonishment, found that every individual on the island (forty in number) spoke very good English. They proved to be the descendants of the deluded crew of the Bounty, who, from Otaheite, proceeded to the abovementioned island, where the ship was burned.

"Christian appeared to have been the leader and sole cause of the mutiny in that ship. A venerable old man, named John Adams, is the only surviving Englishman of those who last quitted Otaheite in her, and whose exemplary conduct, and fatherly care of the whole of the little colony, could not but command admiration. The pious manner in which all those born on the island have been reared, the correct sense of religion which has been instilled into their young minds by this old man, has given him the pre-eminence over the whole of them, to whom they look up as the father of one and the whole family.

"A son of Christian was the first born on the island, now about twenty-five years of age, named Thursday October Christian: the elder Christian fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of an Otaheitan man, within three or four years after their arrival on the island. The mutineers were accompanied thither by six Otaheitan men and twelve women; the former were all swept away by desperate contentions between them and the Englishmen, and five of the latter died at different periods, leaving at present only one man (Adams) and seven women of the original settlers.

"The island must undoubtedly be that called Pitcairn, although erroneously laid down in the charts. We had the altitude of the meridian sun close to it, which gave us 25° 4′ S. latitude, and 130° 25′ W. longitude, by the chronometers of the Briton and Tagus.

"It produces in abundance yams, plantains, hogs, goats, and fowls; but the coast affords no shelter for a ship or vessel of any description; neither could a ship water there without great difficulty.

"I cannot, however, refrain from offering my opinion, that

it is well worthy the attention of our laudable religious societies, particularly that for propagating the Christian religion, the whole of the inhabitants speaking the Otaheitan tongue as well as English.

"During the whole time they have been on the island, only one ship has ever communicated with them, which took place about six years since; and this was the American ship Topaz, of Boston, Matthew Folger, master.

"The island is completely iron-bound with rocky shores, and the landing in boats must be at all times difficult, although the island may be safely approached within a small distance by a ship.

"(Signed) T. STAINES."

Such is the first account of this peculiar little colony, which may be regarded as official, being direct from an English officer who wrote from his own observation.

Captain Pipon writes, if the discovery of a new island, as they at first thought the Pitcairn was, awakened their curiosity, it was still more excited when they ran in for land the next morning, on perceiving a few huts, neatly built, amidst plantations laid out apparently with something like order and regularity; and these appearances confirmed them more than ever that it could not be Pitcairn's Island, because that was described by navigators to be uninhabited. Presently they observed a few natives coming down a steep descent with their canoes on their shoulders; and in a few minutes perceived one of those little vessels darting through a heavy surf, and paddling off towards the ships; but their astonishment was extreme when, on coming alongside, they were hailed in the English language with, "Won't you heave us a rope now?"

The first young man that sprung, with extraordinary alacrity, up the side, and stood before them on the deck, said, in reply to the question, "Who are you?"—that his name was Thursday October Christian, son of the late Fletcher Christian by an Otaheitan mother; that he was the first born on the island, and that he was so called because he was brought into the world on a Thursday in October. Singularly strange as all this was to Sir Thomas Staines and Captain Pipon, this youth soon satisfied them that he was no other than the person he represented himself to be, and that he was fully acquainted with the whole history of the Bounty; and, in short, that the island before them was the retreat of the mutineers of that ship. Young Christian was, at this time, about twenty-four years of age, a fine tall youth, full six feet high, with dark, almost black, hair, and a countenance open and extremely interesting. As he wore no clothes except a piece of cloth

round his loins, and a straw hat, ornamented with black cock's feathers, his fine figure and well-shaped muscular limbs were displayed to great advantage, and attracted general admiration. His body was much tanned by exposure to the weather, and his countenance had a brownish cast, unmixed, however, with that tinge of red so common among the natives of the Pacific islands.

"Added to a great share of good humour, we were glad to trace," says Captain Pipon, "in his benevolent countenance, all the features of an honest English face." His manner of speaking English was exceedingly pleasing, and correct both in grammar and pronunciation. His companion was a handsome youth, seventeen or eighteen years of age, named George Young, the son of Young the midshipman. When Sir Thomas Staines took the youths below, and gave them something to eat, his surprise and interest were deeply excited when they both rose up, and one of them, placing his hands together in a posture of devotion, said grace in the words well known to an Englishman, "For what we are going to receive, the Lord make us truly thankful."

So many things new to them, the size of the ship and of the guns, indeed everything around them, seemed to astonish the youths Observing a cow, they were at first somewhat alarmed, and expressed a doubt whether it was a huge goat or a horned hog, these being the only two species of quadrupeds they had ever seen. A little dog amused them much. "Oh! what a pretty little thing it is!" exclaimed Young. "I know it is a dog, for I have heard of such an animal." These young men referred the two captains to an old man on shore, whose name, they said, was John Adams, the only surviving Englishman that came away in the Bounty, at which time he was called Alexander Smith. This information induced the two captains to go on shore. Old Adams, having ascertained that the two officers alone had landed, and without arms, concluded they had no intention to take him prisoner, and ventured to come down to the beach, from whence he conducted them to his house. He was accompanied by his wife, a very old woman, and nearly blind. It seems they were both at first considerably alarmed; the sight of the king's uniform, after so many years, having no doubt brought fresh to the recollection of Adams the conspicuous part he had acted in the mutiny of the Bounty. Sir Thomas Staines, however, set his mind at ease on this main score. Adams pretended that he had no great share in the mutiny, that he was sick in bed when it broke out, and that when he got on deck he was compelled to take hold of a musket. He expressed himself ready and seemed desirous to return to England in

one of the ships; but the tears of the women, and apparent deep grief of the young men, put this altogether out of the question. The two captains learned from Adams, *alias* Smith, that Fletcher Christian, after landing on this island the hogs, goats, and poultry, which had been brought from Otaheite, ordered the Bounty to be set on fire, with a view, no doubt, of preventing any escape from the island; and also, of removing an object which, if seen, might be the means of betraying his retreat. He seems to have lived a most miserable life for the short time he was spared in Pitcairn Island. Sullen and morose, he committed many acts of wanton oppression; and this led to his fate—he was shot by an Otaheitan while digging in his field, about eleven months after they had settled on the island, and his death was only the commencement of feuds and assassinations, which ended in the total destruction of the whole party, except Adams and Young. By the account of the former, the settlers from this time became divided into two parties, and their grievances and quarrels proceeded to such a height, that each took every opportunity of putting the other to death. Old John Adams was himself shot through the neck; but the ball having entered the fleshy part only, he was enabled to make his escape, and avoid the fury of his assailants. The immediate cause of Christian's murder was his having forcibly seized on the wife of one of the Otaheitan men, which so exasperated the rest, that they not only sought the life of the offender, but of others also, who might, as they thought, be disposed to pursue the same course.

This interesting little colony was now found to contain about forty-six persons, mostly grown-up young people, with a few infants. The young men, all born on the island, were finely formed, athletic and handsome; their countenances open and pleasing, indicating much benevolence and goodness of heart: but the young women particularly were objects of attraction, being tall, robust, and beautifully formed, their faces beaming with smiles, and indicating unruffled good humour: while their manners and demeanour exhibited a commendable degree of modesty and bashfulness. Their teeth were beautifully white, and perfectly regular, without a single exception; and all of them had the marked expression of English features, minus the clear red and white skin, they being fine *brunettes*. Adams assured Sir Thomas Staines and Captain Pipon, that not one instance of debauchery or immoral conduct had occurred on the island. The principles of morality and religion he had taught them, had hitherto controlled their conduct. The young women, with great simplicity, told Captain Pipon that

they were not married, and that their father, as they called Adams, had told them it was right they should wait with patience, till they had acquired sufficient property to bring up a young family, before they thought of marrying; and that they always followed his advice, because they knew it to be good.

It appeared that, from the time when Adams was left alone on the island, the sole survivor of all the males that had landed from the Bounty, European and Otaheitan, the greatest harmony had prevailed in their little society; they all declared that no serious quarrels ever occurred among them, though a few hasty words might now and then be uttered, but, to make use of their own expression, they were only quarrels of the mouth. Adams assured his visitors that they were all strictly honest in all their dealings, lending or exchanging their various articles of live stock or produce with each other, in the most friendly manner; and if any little dispute occurred, he never found any difficulty to rectify the mistake or misunderstanding that might have caused it, to the satisfaction of both parties.

The young girls, although they had only the example of their Otaheitan mothers to follow in their dress, were modestly clothed, having generally a piece of cloth of their own manufacture, reaching from the waist to the knees, and a mantle, or something of that nature, thrown loosely over the shoulders, and hanging sometimes as low as the ankles: this mantle, however, was frequently thrown aside, being used rather as a shelter for their bodies from the heat of the sun, or the severity of the weather, than for the sake of attaching any idea of immodesty to the upper part of the person being uncovered; and it is not possible, says Captain Pipon, to behold finer forms than are exhibited by this partial exposure. He observes, "It was pleasing to see the good taste and quickness with which they form little shades or parasols of green leaves, to place over the head or bonnets, to keep the sun from their eyes. A young girl made one of these in my presence, with such neatness and alacrity, as to satisfy me that a fashionable dressmaker of London would be delighted with the simplicity and elegant taste of these untaught females." The same young girl, he says, accompanied them to the boat, carrying on her shoulders, as a present, a large basket of yams, "over such roads and down such precipices, as were scarcely passable by any creatures except goats, and over which we could scarcely scramble with the help of our hands. Yet with this load on her shoulders, she skipped from rock to rock like a young roe."

Having supplied Adams and his family with some tools, kettles, and other articles, the

two officers took leave of them. Their interesting report of the infant colony, produced as little effect on the government as that of Folger; and nothing more was heard of it, for twelve years nearly, when in 1825, Captain Beechey, in the Blossom, bound on a voyage of discovery, paid a visit to Pitcairn Island. Some whale-fishing ship, however, had touched there in the meantime, and left on the island a person of the name of John Buffet. In this man, they very fortunately found an able and willing schoolmaster: he had belonged to a ship which visited the island, and was so attracted by the behaviour of the people, being himself naturally of a devout and serious turn of mind, that he resolved to remain among them; and, in addition to the instruction of the children, took upon himself the duty of clergyman, and became the oracle of the community.

On the approach of the Blossom towards the island, a boat was observed, under all sail, hastening towards the ship, which they considered to be the boat of some whaler, but were soon agreeably undeceived by the singular appearance of her crew, which consisted of old Adams and many of the young men belonging to the island. They did not venture at once to lay hold of the ship till they had first inquired if they might come on board; and on permission being granted, they sprung up the side, and shook every officer by the hand with undisguised feelings of gratification. The activity of the young men, ten in number, outstripped that of old Adams, who was in his sixty-fifth year, and somewhat corpulent. He was dressed in a sailor's shirt and trousers, and a low-crowned hat, which he held in his hand until desired to put it on. He still retained his sailor's manners, doffing his hat and smoothing down his bald forehead whenever he was addressed by the officers of the Blossom. The young men were tall, robust, and healthy, with good-natured countenances and a simplicity of manner, and a fear of doing something that might be wrong, which at once prevented the possibility of giving offence. Their dresses were whimsical enough; some had long coats without trousers, and others trousers without coats, and others again waistcoats without either. None of them had either shoes or stockings, and there were only two hats among them, "neither of which," Captain Beechey says, "seemed likely to hang long together."

Captain Beechey procured from Adams a great many details regarding the broils and disputes which led to the destruction and death of all his guilty companions of the Bounty; but space need not be taken up here with many of them. One of the mutineers, M'Koy, it appears, had formerly been employed in a Scotch distillery, and, being much addicted to

ardent spirits, set about making experiments on the *tee-root*, (*Dracæna terminalis*), and at length unfortunately succeeded in producing an intoxicating liquor. This success induced his companion Quintal to turn his kettle into a still. The consequence was, that these two men were in a constant state of drunkenness, particularly M'Koy, on whom, it seems, it had the effect of producing fits of delirium; and in one of these he threw himself from a cliff, and was killed on the spot. Captain Beechey says, "The melancholy fate of this man created so forcible an impression on the remaining few, that they resolved never again to touch spirits; and Adams has, I believe, to this day kept his vow."

After many bloody scenes, Adams and Young were left the sole survivors out of the fifteen males that had landed upon the island. Young was a man of some education, and of a serious turn of mind; and it would have been wonderful, after the many dreadful scenes at which they had assisted, if the solitude and tranquillity that ensued had not disposed them to repentance. They had a Bible and a Prayer-Book, which were found in the Bounty, and they read the Church Service regularly every Sunday. They now resolved to have morning and evening family prayers, and to instruct the children, who amounted to nineteen, many of them between the ages of seven and nine years. Young, however, was not long suffered to survive his repentance. An asthmatic complaint terminated his existence.

Another peculiarity in Adams' account of the ultimate fate of the mutineers on this occasion, is worthy of notice. Like his account of where he was on the morning of the mutiny, it does not impress one with a conviction of the infallible accuracy of the statements of this patriarch. His sincere repentance, and subsequent excellent conduct, however, renders one indisposed to take further notice of his inaccuracies, than is necessary to give a fair sense of what he said. He told two different stories with regard to the conduct of Christian. To Sir Thomas Staines and Captain Pipon, he represented this ill-fated young man as never happy, after the rash and criminal step he had taken, and that he was always sullen and morose, and committed so many acts of cruelty, as to incur the hatred and detestation of his associates in crime. Whereas he told Captain Beechey, that Christian was always cheerful; that his example was of the greatest service in exciting his companions to labour; that he was naturally of a happy, ingenuous disposition, and won the good opinion and respect of all who served under him which cannot be better exemplified, he says, than by his maintaining, under circumstances of great perplexity,

the respect and regard of all who were associated with him up to the hour of his death. The truth of the matter appears to be that Christian, so far from being cheerful, was, on the contrary, always uneasy in his mind about his own safety, and this is proved by his having selected a cave at the extremity of the high ridge of craggy hills that runs across the island, as his intended place of refuge, in the event of any ship of war discovering the retreat of the mutineers, in which cave he resolved to sell his life as dearly as he could. In this recess he always kept a store of provisions, and near it erected a small hut, well concealed by trees, which served the purpose of a watch-house. "So difficult," says Captain Beechey, "was the approach to this cave, that even if a party were successful in crossing the ridge, he might have bid defiance, as long as his ammunition lasted, to any force."

The Blossom was the first ship of war that Adams had been on, since the mutiny. It was several hours before the ship approached the shore, and the boats put off before she came to an anchor.

On account of the rocks and formidable breakers, the party who went on shore were landed by the young men, two at a time, in their whale-boat. "The difficulty of landing," says Captain Beechey, "was more than repaid by the friendly reception we met with on the beach from Hannah Young, a very interesting young woman, the daughter of Adams. In her eagerness to greet her father, she had outrun her female companions, for whose delay she thought it necessary, in the first place, to apologise, by saying they had all been over the hill in company with John Buffet, to look at the ship, and were not yet returned. It appeared that John Buffet, who had been a seafaring man, had ascertained that the ship was a man-of-war, and, without knowing exactly why, became so alarmed—and there was good reason for his alarm, for any of these captains might have made Adams a prisoner—for the safety of the old man, that he either could not or would not answer any of the interrogatories which were put to him. This mysterious silence set all the party in tears, as they feared he had discovered something adverse to their patriarch. At length his obduracy yielded to their entreaties; but before he explained the cause of his conduct, the boats were seen to put off from the ship, and Hannah immediately hurried to the beach to kiss the old man's cheek, which she did with a fervency demonstrative of the warmest affections.

Captain Beechey, after describing many of the manners and customs of the island, goes on to tell that during their stay, they dined sometimes with one person, sometimes with another, their meals being always the

same, and consisting of baked pig, yams, and taro, and sometimes sweet potatoes. Goats were numerous on the island; but neither their flesh nor their milk was relished by the natives. Yams constituted their principal food, either boiled, baked, or mixed with cocoa-nut, made into cakes, and eaten with molasses extracted from the tee-root. Taro-root is no bad substitute for bread; and bananas, plaintains, and *appoi*, are wholesome and nutritive fruits. The common beverage was water; but they made tea from the tee-plant, flavoured with ginger, and sweetened with the juice of the sugar-cane. They but seldom killed a pig, living mostly on fruit and vegetables. With this simple diet, early rising, and taking a great deal of exercise, they were subject to few diseases.

The young children were punctual in their attendance at school, and were instructed by John Buffet in reading, writing, and arithmetic; to which were added precepts of religion and morality, drawn chiefly from the Bible and Prayer-Book. They seldom indulged in jokes or other kinds of levity; and Beechey says, they were so accustomed to take what was said in its literal meaning, that irony was always considered a falsehood in spite of explanation; and that they could not see the propriety of uttering what was not strictly true, for any purpose whatever. The Sabbath was wholly devoted to the church service, to prayer, reading, and serious meditation; no work of any kind was done on that day, not even cooking, which was prepared on the preceding evening.

"I attended," says Beechey, "their church on this day, and found the service well conducted; the prayers were read by Adams, and the lessons by Buffet, the service being preceded by hymns. The greatest devotion was apparent in every individual; and in the children there was a seriousness unknown in the younger part of our communities at home. In the course of the Litany, they prayed for their sovereign and all the royal family with much apparent loyalty and sincerity. Some family prayers, which were thought appropriate to their own particular case, were added to the usual service; and Adams, fearful of leaving out any essential part, read in addition all those prayers which are intended only as substitutes for others. A sermon followed, which was very well delivered by Buffet; and lest any part of it should be forgotten or escape attention, it was read three times. The whole concluded with hymns, which were first sung by the grown people, and afterwards by the children. The service thus performed was very long; but the neat and cleanly appearance of the congregation, the devotion that animated every countenance, and the innocence and simplicity of the little children, pre-

vented the attendance from becoming wearisome. In about half an hour afterwards we again assembled to prayers, and at sunset service was repeated; so that, with their morning and evening prayers, they may be said to have church five times on a Sunday."

Dancing was not encouraged among them. With considerable difficulty, after much entreaty, Captain Beechey and his friends prevailed on three grown-up ladies to perform the Otaheitan dance, which consisted of little more than shuffling their feet, sliding past each other, and snapping their thumbs. They appeared to have little taste for music, either vocal or instrumental. Adams told Captain Beechey one day, that it would add much to his happiness, if the captain would read the marriage ceremony over him and his wife. He had always had an idea of having this done when a proper opportunity should offer. It was done accordingly the following day, and the event was duly noted in a register by John Buffet. The marriages of the young people had all been officiated at by Adams himself, who made use of a ring on such occasions, which had united every couple on the island since its first settlement.

In consequence of a representation, made by Captain Beechey when there, of the distressed state of this little society, with regard to the want of certain necessary articles, His Majesty's Government sent out to Valparaiso, to be conveyed from thence for their use, a proportion for sixty persons of the following articles: sailors' blue jackets and trousers, flannel waistcoats, pairs of stockings and shoes, women's dresses, spades, mattocks, shovels, pickaxes, trowels, rakes; all of which were taken in His Majesty's ship Seringapatam, commanded by Captain the Hon. William Waldegrave, who arrived there in March 1830.

The ship had scarcely anchored when George Young was alongside in his canoe, which he guided by a paddle; and soon after Thursday October Christian, in a jolly-boat, with several others, who, having come on board, were invited to breakfast, and one of them said grace as usual both before and after it. The captain, the chaplain, and some other officers accompanied these natives on shore, and having reached the summit of the first level or plain, which is surrounded by a grove or screen of cocoa-nut trees, they found the wives and mothers assembled to receive them. "I have brought you a clergyman," says the captain. "God bless you," issued from every mouth; "but is he come to stay with us?" "No." "You bad man, why not?" "I cannot spare him, he is the chaplain of my ship; but I have brought you clothes and other articles, which King George has sent you."

"But," says Kitty Quintal, "we want food for our souls."

"Our reception," says Captain Waldegrave, "was most cordial, particularly that of Mr Watson, the chaplain; and the meeting of the wives and husbands most affecting, exchanging expressions of joy that could not have been exceeded had they just returned from a long absence. The men sprang up to the trees, throwing down cocoa-nuts, the husks of which were torn off by others with their teeth, and offering us the milk. As soon as we had rested ourselves, they took us to their cottages, where we dined and slept."

Captain Waldegrave, like all former visitors, bore ample testimony to the kind dispositions and active benevolence of these simple islanders. A remarkable proof of these amiable feelings he noted in the care that was taken of the surviving widows of the Otaheitan men who had been slain on the island, who were helpless and would have been destitute but for the humane consideration of the young people who supported them, and treated them with every attention.

CHAPTER VI.

NORFOLK ISLAND.

A FEW years after John Buffet settled on Pitcairn Island, another English sailor took up his abode in the colony. His name was John Evans, and he was the son of a coachmaker in Long Acre, London. He was a worthy and well educated man. Both he and Buffet married, and thus two names were added to the roll of surnames.

In the year 1828 a third seafaring man chose Pitcairn Island as his home. His arrival was an event destined to affect the annals of the island. He was no passing sailor who took a fancy to the place and asked leave to stop there on his voyage. For years he had entertained a desire to settle among the primitive inhabitants, who had been much talked and written about ever since Captain Folger's discovery had been made public. Having arrived at the island after many difficulties, he was heartily welcomed, and married Sarah, the granddaughter of Fletcher Christian. The name of this man, destined to be the successor of John Adams in the patriarchate, was George Hunn Nobbs.

John Adams died on the

29th of March 1829, aged sixty-five. He had lived on Pitcairn Island since he was twenty-four, the only protector of a number of helpless human beings. The perfect harmony and contentment in which they lived together, the innocency and simplicity of their manners, their conjugal and parental affections, their religious and virtuous conduct, are all to be ascribed to the instructions and exemplary life of this remarkable man. He passed away in the presence of his family and affectionate flock. Adams nominated Mr Nobbs as his successor in the pastorate. This gentleman possessing some knowledge of medicine and surgery besides a competent knowledge of the truths of religion, entered with zeal upon the many duties for the discharge of which his acquirements gave him a vocation.

In 1790 the island was first settled by fifteen men and twelve women, making a total of twenty-seven. Of these were remaining in 1800, one man and five women, with nineteen children, the eldest nine years of age, making in the whole twenty-five. In 1808, Mr Folger makes the population amount to thirty-five, being an increase of ten in eight years. In 1814, six years afterwards, Sir Thomas Staines states the *adult* population at forty, which must be a mistake, as fourteen years before, nineteen of the twenty-five then existing were children. In 1825, Captain Beechey states the whole population at sixty-six, of whom thirty-six were males, and thirty females. In 1830, the colony consisted of eighty-seven persons. A long drought that year, and a bad season for their plantations, gave rise to fears of famine overtaking them. A possible failure of water supply had long been a subject of grave consideration; and the drought of this year led to the taking of a very serious step. The British government proposed to the islanders that they should emigrate to Otaheite. The queen of that island, Pomaré, seconded this suggestion with great zeal. The Pitcairners were divided in opinion. A party headed by Mr Nobbs were much opposed to the movement. Notwithstanding they all sailed for Otaheite in March. A rich tract of land was assigned them by Queen Pomaré, and the Otaheitans assisted them in collecting wood and constructing houses. The climate, however, did not suit them, an epidemic seized them, and Thursday October Christian, the firstborn of Pitcairn Island, fell a victim to it. Besides, the morals of their new neighbours did not suit their simple, austere mode of life. So they resolved to return to their own old island home. Indeed, the Buffet family and some others did not remain in Otaheite till the general re-emigration. They had come there in a government

vessel. In September 1831, an American brig brought away all the families and landed them again at Pitcairn. This was done at their own expense, and greatly to Queen Pomaré's regret. They restored their plantations, repaired their houses, and Pitcairn village soon resumed its former aspect of cleanliness and comfort.

In 1832 a man named Joshua Hill came to the island, pretending to be a commissioner sent by Government to look after the inhabitants for their good. He talked of great powers entrusted to him, and was received into the house of John Buffet with delight. He wrought a deal of mischief among the families. He assumed the functions of judge, sentenced to the lash and to banishment, kept Mr Nobbs in continual fear of his life, till at last, after anxious correspondence with the home government, this impostor was in 1838 removed by orders of Government, and left at Valparaiso.

Many ships of war touched at the island in the course of succeeding years; but as yet no British Admiral had paid a visit to it. But Rear-Admiral Fairfax Moresby was on the Pacific station in 1851, and he being known to have taken a special interest in the Pitcairn people, was invited to visit the island by a pleasant little note signed by fourteen of the female inhabitants. The frank invitation was cordially accepted; and this visit was an era to the people. Admiral Moresby arrived in his ship, the Portland, in August 1852; and like every other visitor, he was quite fascinated with the persons and manners of the inhabitants. He took a special interest in Mr Nobbs and his family. He got that gentleman to confess himself the unacknowledged son of a marquis by an unfortunate daughter of an Irish baronet. Admiral Moresby procured a passage for him to London, where he was ordained a deacon, in August 1852, by the late Bishop Blomfield, and a priest in November. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel put him on its list, at a salary of £50 a year; and he was introduced to a great many distinguished people. Mr Nobbs was presented to Queen Victoria, who received him most graciously, and gave him portraits of herself and the Royal family. He returned to Pitcairn in May 1853.

The colony had now increased to such an extent, that their beloved little island began to feel too small, or rather not fertile enough for them. Admiral Moresby wrote, the year Mr Nobbs returned, to the Admiralty, saying, that the time had arrived when measures should be taken for their future welfare. Government at that time abandoned Norfolk Island as a convict station; and it seemed a very available home for the straitened inhabitants of the "small Rock in the West." Reports regarding Norfolk Island

with a view to their removal to it, were duly presented to Government. They were, of course, all in the highest degree favourable to the project. No place could suit the Pitcairners so admirably as that abandoned convict station. Admiral Moresby was requested by what was termed the Pitcairn Fund Committee to sound them on the subject. This committee consisted of some influential patrons of the islanders, who collected funds for their benefit, and looked after their interests generally. Admiral Moresby found the Pitcairners favourable to the removal. In reply to a communication by him, the chief magistrate and councillors resolved: "It is very evident that the time is not far distant, when Pitcairn Island will be altogether inadequate to the rapidly increasing population, and the inhabitants do unanimously agree in soliciting the aid of the British Government in transferring them to Norfolk Island, or some other appropriate place." They expressed a desire and hope that wherever they were taken to, they might be allowed to live in a seclusion similar to that they had enjoyed on Pitcairn Island. Government entrusted the removal of them to Sir William Denison, K.C.B., Governor-General of New South Wales, and he sent Captain Freemantle, R.N., commanding the Juno, to see the thing done. Norfolk Island was their destination of course. Captain Freemantle reached the little island in 1855; and was rather surprised to find the people anything but desirous for the change of residence. Many of them had painful memories of their Otaheite escapade twenty-five years ago. Captain Freemantle was in earnest in his mission. He believed it was for the good of the people; and he overcame all scruples and objections. As a man-of-war could not be spared from the station, an emigrant ship, the Morayshire, was commissioned to transfer the islanders to their new home, an undertaking which Lieutenant Gregorie of the Juno was appointed to superintend. When he arrived at Pitcairn, he found that he had the work of persuading to do over again. And no wonder! It was a depressing change for them, poor things. Kind, tender hearts like theirs required much persuasion before they could consent to leave their happy homes, and the graves of those they loved so well—their father, John Adams, and the parents, brothers, sisters, and children, who bound them to Pitcairn, as well as quickened their sense of relationship to that other home beyond their graves.

A few enterprising spirits seconded Lieutenant Gregorie's eloquence, and he eventually succeeded in bringing every soul away. After a passage of five weeks, the Pitcairners arrived at Norfolk Island, on Sunday, 8th June 1856.

Mr Nobbs enters in his diary under this date: "Cloudy weather, close in with Norfolk Island; very much disappointed with its appearance from the present point of view, which is directly off the settlement, and presents a succession of hillocks and shallow ravines covered with short brown grass, but scarcely a tree to be seen. Every face wore an expression of disappointment, having been accustomed to hear the island so highly extolled. No doubt other parts have a better appearance, but this side certainly bears no comparison with our Rock in the West.

"At ten A.M., left with my family, and some others, in the ship's lifeboat. It blew fresh, and we were nearly two hours rowing to shore. The wind being off the land during our passage, several squalls of rain occurred, and the boat leaking badly, we were thoroughly drenched, the women and children presenting a most forlorn appearance. Being conducted by Mr Stewart to his residence, I deposited my wife there, and then returned to the pier. On my way thither, I went into the large building where our people were congregating, and seeing they were beginning to feel comfortable, I returned to the landing-place. One of the Government prisoners — doing duty as a constable to prevent any one intruding into the precincts of the large building (formerly the soldiers' barracks), where our people were assembling—seeing how thoroughly drenched I was, gave me so pressing an invitation to go to his dwelling, which was adjacent, and change my clothes, that I did not refuse his offer. He supplied me with a decent suit, and, moreover, brought me a mug of hot tea, and some excellent bread and butter. All this was done so respectfully, and with such good grace, that I forgot that this man was a twice convicted prisoner."

Mrs Nobbs, writing three months after their arrival at Norfolk Island, expresses pretty fairly the impressions which generally prevailed. "We arrived," she says, "amid squalls of rain, which thoroughly drenched us; but Captain Denham, who was here, had fires prepared and tea ready for us, so that we soon got as comfortable as we could possibly be in, to us, such a bewildering place. Everything was so strange; the immense houses, the herds of cattle grazing, and in the distance the gigantic Norfolk pines, filled us for a moment with amazement. I was conducted by Mr Stewart to the Government House, and seated by a good fire in the drawing-room (I have learned that name since), which was the first fire I had ever seen in a dwelling-house, and an excellent addition to my previous ideas of domestic comfort.

"The island is not to be compared for fertility to the one

we left; but being much larger, there is more room for our children to branch out upon; but I think there are few would not return (and I one of the number), if an opportunity offered. My husband is much annoyed at these expressions of our feelings, and declares that he will never leave Norfolk Island. He is positive that the land is a good land, and that before twelve months we shall be of his opinion. Well, I hope this may be the case; but bad or good, so long as he makes it his home, of course it will be mine; and seeing him so contented and confident, has for certain a good effect upon us all. . . .

"The place is not nearly so well wooded and watered as we thought to have found it, and to a community like this, who, although at Pitcairn they were sometimes straitened in the staple articles of food, had generally something of an inferior kind to fall back upon, the prospect that in two months from this they will be without bread, flour, or any one thing that will answer for a substitute, is not very encouraging. The island, for spontaneous fertility, is not to be compared with the spot we have left, but I am sure the land is a good land, and will provide all we need, when *we get the means of planting.*"

The Bishop of New Zealand, Dr Selwyn, accompanied by Mrs Selwyn, and the Rev. Mr Patteson, paid a visit to the new inhabitants of Norfolk Island in less than a month after they arrived. Mrs Selwyn remained with them, while the Bishop and Mr Patteson pursued their missionary voyage among the islands of Melanesia. He returned in September, and held a confirmation, which Mrs Selwyn had assisted actively in preparing for during his three months' absence. On this occasion, Mr Nobbs relates, "After the departure of the congregation, the Bishop, Mr Patteson, and myself, with old Arthur Quintal, were for some time employed in placing stools in front of the chancel, for the accommodation of those about to be confirmed. At half-past three, the afternoon service was commenced. The candidates were first called by name, and arranged on the before-mentioned stools, the women on the right-hand range or tier, the men on the left. . . . The men were arrayed in good black or blue coats, with white pantaloons, and shoes and stockings. The women wore loose white frocks or tunics, and instead of bonnets, which many do wear on Sunday, was substituted a snowy white handkerchief doubled triangularly, without any attempt at adornment, simply placed on the head, and tied with a half-knot under the chin. . . . The confirmation began by ten persons standing up in parallel rows of five each, without step-

ping from the place where they had been seated, when, having listened attentively to the preface and questions put by the Bishop, they, with becoming earnestness, severally answered, 'I do.' By a motion of the Bishop's hand they resumed their seats, and ten others rose, and so on in like order until all had been questioned and responded. They then in similar order came up to the front of the altar, and kneeling, received the imposition of hands. I am sure it would have gratified our many friends could they have been present, and seen parents kneeling by the side of their children. Many of these were also parents, and in one instance, a great-grandmother was accompanied by grand-daughters, three of whom had families of their own. . . . Before the conclusion, it became nearly dark in the church, and the Bishop was obliged to repair to the outer door to distinguish the names of the persons on the certificates of confirmation. The Bishop himself delivered them, first taking such person by the hand, and using the Christian name of each, asked God's blessing on them. And then the members of the various families returned to their respective homes well pleased and edified."

It will be remembered that the Rev. Mr Patteson referred to here, was subsequently ordained Bishop of Melanesia, which was erected into a see separate from New Zealand; and that he was murdered by savages, while faithfully and lovingly discharging the onerous duties of his sacred office.

In the month of November 1858, that is after living about two years and a half on Norfolk Island, two families of the name of Young returned to Pitcairn Island. The following extract is from a letter written by Sir W. Denison to Admiral Moresby, in which he refers to this event as well as other interesting topics. He says—"I had a rough passage of eight days to the island. . . . I found that the great proportion of the people were well satisfied with their position and prospects. Thirty-three of the men had associated themselves, and by clubbing their means, had purchased two boats and whaling gear from an American whaler. They had then gone energetically into the business of bay whaling, and had killed whales enough to supply fourteen tons of oil, which at present prices may be worth nearly £500. . . . Some have already commenced to manufacture dripstones, which sell well in the adjacent colonies; some have commenced the manufacture of soap; others are looking forward to a profitable trade in oranges and lemons; in fact, as regards the men, I am satisfied with their progress. I wish I could say the same with regard to the women; they, with one or two exceptions, do

not appear to me nearly so civilised as the men. They approach nearer the Tahitian type; and, as we must look to the women to give the first tone to the children, I should wish to see a great improvement in manner, appearance, and information. I trust, however, that Mr Rossiter's presence will do a great deal for them. Hitherto, the school has been but a trifling advantage, but now that Mr Rossiter has taken it in hand, I have a right to expect a great change for the better. . . .

"*I found that two families had gone back to Pitcairn Island, and I heard that three more were contemplating a similar move.* At a general meeting of the people, I spoke strongly to them, pointing out to them the folly, nay, the sin, which they were committing, in throwing aside for themselves as well as for their children the means of living which had been provided for them, and I warned them that I should not in any way countenance or assist them in removing; that I should put a condition of residence in the grant of land which I was prepared to make to them, and should prohibit any alienation of this land to any but inhabitants of the island. I felt the more bound to do this, as I found that the magistrates and Mr Nobbs had, in the case of the people who had left, been weak enough to agree to pay to the captain of a schooner *a sum of £600 as the passage money of sixty adults to Pitcairn*, and had given him bills for £300 on their agent at Sydney, which he claimed when only sixteen went down, instead of sixty. This money, I may observe, was the value of the wool and hides sold, and was the property of the Government. I have now taken the management of the public funds out of the hands of the magistrates, and given it to the storekeeper, who is only to act as far as regards drawing bills upon the wool, etc., by my directions.

"The island is now marked off in fifty-acre allotments, and I propose to send down the deeds of grant when I have settled the form and conditions, and arranged a simple system of registration, and forms of sale, mortgage, etc. . . .

"I look forward to the time when Norfolk Island will become the St Michael's of New Zealand, Tasmania, and Melbourne. Lemons are indigenous, and form the best stock on which the orange can be grafted. I have sent down several of the best descriptions of orange, and shall supply them with shaddock and other fruits of the same kind. Mr Rossiter is, I am glad to find, a good gardener."

Sir W. Denison adds, "I have given Mr Nobbs £50 per annum out of the revenue of the island, in addition to the £50 which he receives from the Society for the Propagation of

the Gospel. He is fairly entitled to this."

These extracts give a sufficient glimpse of the affairs of the descendants of the mutineers of the Bounty, in the new home which Government chose for them and took them to. They have now, somehow or other, ceased to impress the reader of the continuation of their story as the very simple, primitive, pure, and incomparable family they were pictured as being by all who visited them at Pitcairn. They are out a little wider in the world now; Buffet, Evans, Nobbs, and Rossiter are imported influences, and their notions, aims, and means of carrying them out, are both more ample and very different from those of old John Adams. Mr Rossiter received a good income as schoolmaster and storekeeper, and proved himself very useful. He was a conscientious, industrious man, and a rather stern disciplinarian.

The establishing of a Mission College on Norfolk Island, was an occasion of trouble and anxiety to its imported inhabitants. They were afraid that a body of semi-converted natives of the Melanesian islands settled among them, would damage morality and hinder social progress. But their principal objection to the project was based on a belief that there had been conferred on them by the British Government an indefeasible right and title to the whole of Norfolk Island. They considered that it was theirs and everything it contained. They were unwilling to admit a precedent for alienation, fearing that it might deprive their posterity of a guaranteed inheritance. It was, they maintained, upon the condition of unqualified cession that they consented to leave Pitcairn Island. This was, however, discovered to be a false impression, and after considerable delay and a good deal of plucky correspondence with Government, the Melanesian Mission College was sanctioned in 1866. Bishop Patteson paid £3 an acre for a thousand acres of land; this £3000 was carefully invested, and the accruing interest is applied annually to paying the pastor and chief magistrate of the descendants of the mutineers of the Bounty, and also to the cost of medicines, flags, and other necessary and showy matters. In no way can the founding of this college be regarded as other than beneficial to the Norfolk Islanders. Their home acquires reputation by it, and if there is an importation of semi-civilised natives, there is also the introduction of highly educated gentlemen to look after them. This is the wonderful ultimate result of a rash and foolish mutiny. The home of their descendants, formerly the compulsory abode of outcasts, is now the "Holy Isle" of the Pacific Ocean, the seat of the Melanesian Mission College.

LAST OF THE BOUNTY.

The following paragraph cut from a newspaper in 1874 presents a vivid idea of the hardihood and intelligence of the excellent people to whom it is a regret to say good-bye here at the close of our repetition of their story.

"On the voyage from Sydney the Pearl stayed a day at Norfolk Island, which is a territory within the jurisdiction of Sir Hercules Robinson, as Governor of New South Wales. A very good story is told of the simple-minded, hardy descendants of the *mutineers of the Bounty*. The landing-place is an open roadstead. When Commodore Stirling visited the island in the Clio last year, a gale of wind was blowing, and the sea was running so high that it was impossible to land. After standing off and on for some time, the Clio was about to make sail for Sydney, the weather showing no signs of moderating, when a boat was observed to put off from the shore. Something serious is the matter, thought all on board, or the islanders would not venture out in such a sea. The ship lay to, but the boat's crew had to toil all through the night before reaching her. *When they gained the deck, Commodore Stirling said, with some solicitude in his manner, 'I am glad to see you. I hope nothing has gone wrong; but anything in the way of medicines or supplies I have is at your service.'* 'We are all well, thank you,' answered the courageous boatmen, 'but *there is one thing we would like—have you a copy of "Lothair"?*' Two French gentlemen fought with swords in a Parisian bookshop for the right to purchase the last copy of the first edition of 'Le Diable Boiteux,' but it does not often fall to the lot of a modern author to produce a book for the possession of which people will risk their lives."

END OF THE BOUNTY AND HER MUTINEERS.

MUTINIES IN HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

MUTINY IN THE 42D REGIMENT

(THE ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT, OR BLACK WATCH)

May 1743.

THE Forty-Second, or Royal Highland, Regiment was the first, as it has continued to be the foremost, of the regiments which in their heroic services to the House of Hanover on the British throne, have reflected unfading glory on their race, and on the highlands and islands of Scotland. The roll on which its martial deeds of undying renown are emblazoned is one of the most dazzling among the honoured records of modern warfare. The origin of the first of the Highland regiments is interesting.

The leading circumstances which led to its formation are easily recounted. The majority of the Highland clans continued faithful to the direct line of the Stuart dynasty, after the Revolution of 1688 had led the royal train off at a siding. It took them three years to intimate their submission to the government of William III.; and that submission was only a hollow affair after all the time it took in shaping. In 1715 they took arms against the House of Hanover, under the enthusiastic Earl of Mar, with results disastrous to the Highlanders. After an attempt made by the Spanish in 1719, to embroil Scotland again in a civil war proved itself fruitless, the country enjoyed comparative quiet for twenty-five years, during which period roads were made in the Highlands, and various measures were adopted to improve the condition of the clans.

Some Highlanders were taken into the service of the Crown and armed as early as 1725, when Marshall Wade was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Scotland; and in 1729 the Government took measures for the embodying of a number of loyal Highlanders, who should be constituted a regular domestic military force, employed to keep order in the mountain districts, for which they were in every respect better qualified than soldiers from the

Lowlands. Six companies were accordingly formed, and were employed, in 1730, enforcing the Disarming Act, overawing the disaffected, preventing reprisals and plunders between the rival clans, and putting a check upon the depredations made by the mountaineers on their peaceable neighbours of the plains. The officers were generally selected from among the Campbells, Grants, Munroes, and other chief families which had embraced the principles of the Revolution; but many of the men were from clan Athole, Perthshire, and other districts where loyalty to the dethroned dynasty was still a controlling sentiment.

Many of the men in the ranks were cadets of gentlemen's families, sons of gentlemen farmers, and tacksmen, immediately or more remotely connected with the leading families. They were generally of a higher grade in society than that from which the British soldier was raised in those days, or at any time since; they were, in a word, men who felt themselves responsible for their conduct to high-minded and honourable relations, as well as to a country for which they cherished a fondly devoted affection.

These six companies were called the *Freicudan Dhu*, or Black Watch, from the colour of their dress, which consisted so much of the black, green, and blue tartan, that it gave them a dark and sombre appearance in comparison with the bright uniform of the regular *Seiâaran Dearag*, or Red Soldiers.

The companies continued to discharge with faithfulness and efficiency their duties as a domestic watch till 1739. In that year, on the breaking out of war with Spain, King George II. resolved to incorporate the six companies of the Black Watch into a regiment of the line, to be augmented to ten companies, that he might possess the advantage of a Highland corps in the coming struggle. Accordingly a warrant to this effect was issued to Colonel John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, under date October 25, 1739. After some progress had been made in recruiting, the men were assembled in May 1740, and embodied into a regiment in a field between Taybridge and Aberfeldy, in the county of Perth, under the title of the "Highland Regiment," but the corps still retained the country name of the Black Watch. They remained for about fifteen months on the banks of the Tay and of the Lyon.

Colonel the Earl of Crawford was removed in December of the same year, from the Black Watch to the Second, or Scots, troop of Grenadier Life Guards; and Brigadier-General Lord Sempill was appointed colonel of the Highlanders.

In the winter of 1741 the regiment resumed the duties formerly performed by the six

companies in the Highlands; these it continued to discharge during 1742, the year in which King George II. sent an army to Flanders to support the House of Austria against the Elector of Bavaria and the King of France.

The Highland Regiment having been selected to reinforce the army in Flanders, was assembled at Perth in March 1743, preparatory for a march to London.

Such an order took the men by surprise, and awakened suspicion as well as astonishment. They had not expected it; and were not slow to express their feelings and opinions, nor were they low in their tones. Not the men only. The regimenting of this body of Highlanders had been looked upon by many gentlemen of public spirit as a very significant experiment. It was a question of national importance. A firm and right step had been taken towards the final inclusion of the clans into the nation. A nation is an organised unity. So long as these Highland families remained irresponsive to its throbs and pulses, they were only instruments of trouble and danger. They were like a foreign body jammed too closely against the sensitive organisation of the country; and the engrafting of them on to its stem was to be greatly facilitated by enlisting their best and bravest in the ranks of the nation's defenders.

The proposal to send the Highland Regiment out of Scotland, or, indeed, away from the Highlands, therefore, aroused the indignation of many of those who understood best the elements of which it was composed. Lord President Forbes, in a special manner, disapproved of and opposed the measure; and no one knew the character of the corps better than he, or was more fully alive to the necessity of the duty they were performing—its nature, and their capability of discharging it faithfully. This was 1743. How ominously soon did 1745 follow upon the march of the Black Watch to the south of England!

Lord President Forbes wrote a letter to General Clayton, who had succeeded Marshal Wade in the commandership-in-chief of Scotland, of which the following is an extract, and explains sufficiently the unmistakable sentiments of his lordship on the subject. He writes: "When I first heard of the orders given to the Highland Regiment to march southwards, it gave me no sort of concern. I supposed the intention was only to see them; but, as I have been lately assured that they are destined for foreign service, I cannot dissemble my uneasiness at a resolution that may, in my apprehension, be attended with very bad consequences; nor can I prevail with myself not to communicate to you my thoughts on this subject, however late they may come." His

lordship goes on to state what he fears will be the consequences to be expected from the removal of this regiment. "I must," he continues, "put you in mind that the present system for securing the peace of the Highlands, which is the best I ever heard of, is by regular troops stationed from Inverness to Fort William, along the chain of lakes which, in a manner, divides the Highlands, to command the obedience of the inhabitants of both sides, and, by a body of disciplined Highlanders, wearing the dress, and speaking the language of the country, to execute such orders as require expedition, and for which neither the dress nor the manners of other troops are proper. These Highlanders now regimented were at first independent companies; and though their dress, language, and manners, qualified them for securing the lower country from depredations, yet that was not the sole use of them. The same qualities fitted them for every expedition that required secrecy and despatch. They served for all purposes of hussars or light horse, in a country whose mountains and bogs render cavalry useless; and, if properly disposed over the Highlands, nothing that was commonly reported and believed by the Highlanders could be a secret to their commanders, because of their intimacy with the people, and the sameness of language."

There are other considerations besides those presented thus by the great patriot of his time. He views the Government measure for sending this regiment abroad mainly from the point of view of the suitableness of the men to a very necessary service. But how did the proposal affect the men's estimate of that Government, whose orders they had come under an oath to obey? Obedience has its limits, and the sense of duty is only a response to certain acknowledged claims. The men disputed the right of the Government to lay on them the command conveyed by this marching order. There are grounds for believing that, when they were regimented, the measure was represented to them as nothing more than a change of name and of officers, which implied the very substantial advantage of more regular pay, if the duties were to be more definitely regulated. Under this arrangement they distinctly understood that they were to continue to be employed, as formerly, in watching the country—a sort of armed police, obeying officers who received orders from the central Government, instead of from any local power. When they showed astonishment and expressed surprise at orders to march to England, they were falsely told, that it was only that they might have an opportunity of showing themselves to the king, who had never seen a Highland regi-

ment. This explanation satisfied the soldiers so far. It was a sop to their vanity; but no motive more dangerous and more self-defeating exists in the heart of man than his vanity, and the passionate impulses to which it often leads. In the case in point, the very vanity which lightened the steps of the Highlanders during their march to London, laid a dead weight on their hearts when the specious lie which deceived, and, as they thought, befooled them, was detected.

It is true enough that the king had never seen a Highland regiment. His Majesty had never seen a Highland soldier; and he expressed a desire to see one. Three privates, remarkable for their athletic figure and good looks, were fixed upon and sent to London for his Majesty's gratification and inspection a short time before the regiment marched. These were Gregor M'Gregor, commonly called Gregor the Beautiful; John Campbell, son of Duncan Campbell, of the family of Duncaves, Perthshire; and John Grant, of Strathspey, of the family of Ballindalloch. Poor Mr Grant fell sick, and died at Aberfeldy. The others, it was reported at the time, were presented by their Lieutenant-Colonel, Sir Robert Munro, to the king, and performed the broadsword exercise and that of the Lochaber axe, before his Majesty, the Duke of Cumberland, Marshal Wade, and a number of general officers assembled for the purpose, in the Great Gallery at St James's. The exhibition was gratifying to all concerned. It was said that these two individual show-specimens of a Highland regiment displayed so much dexterity and skill in the management of their weapons, that the king expressed himself perfectly satisfied with it and them. Humiliating stage-play! Had those two Highlanders suspected the treachery in train for themselves and their free-born comrades, for the giving effect to which this exhibition was but the opening prelude to "play in" their brethren, it is to be hoped they would have preferred taking the place of the brothers M'Pherson, who were subsequently murdered as mutineers on Tower Hill. The humiliation had a lower deep. Each of the two got a gratuity of a guinea, for showing himself off to be so clever; and they each gave his guinea to the porter at the palace gate as they passed out. They were not to be paid for being accomplished Highlandmen. They forgave the king for mistaking their character, and the consideration due to them in their own beloved country.

The departure of the Black Watch from the country, which was doomed to miss it sorely very soon, was thus formally announced by the *Caledonian Mercury*: "On Wednesday last,

Lord Sempill's regiment of Highlanders began their march for England in order to be reviewed by his Majesty. They are certainly the finest regiment in the service, being tall, well-made men, and very stout." The word "stout" here has its older meaning, still common in Scotland, of healthy, strong, vigorous.

Their march through the English counties supplied a feast of wonderment to the eyes of all who looked at them. A Highlander in full garb was a strange object to an Englishman. A gentlemanly, tastefully-dressed, and gracefully-mannered gorilla would not be more vacantly stared at in the crush of a crammed drawing-room, where all the expensive trains of fine society get crumpled into wisps, while so many animated clothes-pegs are bustling to get as near him as is consistent or inconsistent with *sang froid*, in the circumstances. The stories current in England at the time of the ferocious savagery of the Highlanders, and the frightful conflicts of their clans, were wild enough to have awakened expectations of a few full-dressed rehearsals, as these specimens of unabolished barbarism made their way through the counties. In Marchant's "History of the Rebellion" (Lond. 1746), we read of a gentleman in Derby expressing his astonishment "to see these savages, from the officer to the commonest man, at their several meals, first stand up and pull off their bonnets, and then lift up their eyes in a most solemn and devout manner, and mutter something in their own gibberish, by way, I suppose, of saying grace, as if they had been so many Christians!" When Gordon of Glenbucket, whom Lord President Forbes, who knew him intimately, described as "a good-natured, humane man," marched up his followers to join the rebel army in England, it was gravely questioned, whether they killed their prisoners and sucked their blood, to whet their appetite for war, after the manner of other savages?"

It is never easy to imagine one's self living in the atmosphere of the absurd notions of an earlier age. In that day the monstrous tales which the good people of England believed regarding their neighbours on the Scottish mountains would have created many a hearty laugh, and a good deal of pity in the Highland clachans, if they could have been translated into Gaelic.

Nobody was eaten during the march, and great was the astonishment of the beholders of the orderly conduct and fine martial appearance of this regiment of Highland gentlemen. During the journey great good humour prevailed in the ranks, heightened as it doubtless was by the unbounded hospitality and friendly feeling which they experienced in the country and

the towns through which their route lay.

The regiment reached the neighbourhood of London in two divisions. The former arrived on the 29th, and the latter on the 30th of April. In a fortnight, that is, on the 14th of May, the whole body was reviewed on Finchley Common by Marshal Wade, who, from his influential residence in Scotland for a time as commander-in-chief, was intimately acquainted with many of the officers and soldiers, and knew well the nature of the corps. This was the first mistake of the government, and it caused grave misgivings in the minds of many of these honest, hearty, straightforward sons of the mountains, who expected to be reviewed in the presence of his Majesty, who seems never to have been made aware of, or did not think it worth his royal while to remember, the fact that the bait with which his instruments had wiled away the Black Watch from the Highlands to London, was the assurance that the king, who had never seen one, was anxious to look at a Highland regiment. The two show specimens seem to have been quite enough for royal inspection, and in this King George II. was less wise in his generation than was the man in Greek fable, who, having a house to sell, and wishing bidders to form some adequate idea of its commodious apartments and all the conveniences it offered, took a stone or two of it to the market for inspection. In fact, the king and the Duke of Cumberland had set sail from Greenwich for the Continent on the 30th of April, the day on which the second detachment of the regiment reached the neighbourhood of London; and being driven back to Sheerness the same night, he remained there wind-bound until the 1st of May, when he again set sail, arriving next evening at Helvoetsluys, whence his Majesty proceeded on the following morning to Hanover. The Highlanders were not in any of his thoughts, unless it might happen to occur to him to wonder at what rate they would sell their lives when they arrived in Flanders, as had been planned before the regiment was formed.

In the interval between their arrival and the review, the men had time to reflect on the king's conduct. So had others, when they learned the disappointment of the corps, which, notwithstanding Highland reserve, would be freely spoken of; for an indignant Highlandman is no inscrutable Sphinx. His English may be bad, but he makes his meaning good.

Besides, immense crowds of people from London and all the country round, flocked to see the strangers, whose dress and language were two new things, each of them an object of wonder. The favourable reports which had flown on before them of their appearance and be-

haviour on the march, excited, however, a great deal more interest than either their dress or their language, or both. These were innocent reasons for obtrusive curiosity.

But the state of the country, two years before the Rebellion of 1745, is not to be forgotten. King George's throne was not as stable as the Grampians at the time; and there were thousands of men belonging to all grades of society in London and the region round about, as well as over all England and Scotland, who grudged this accession of strength to the hated House of Hanover. Many, therefore, who resorted to the quarters of the Highlanders, had objects in view other than the gratification of a fussy curiosity. Insidious and effectual whispers were made into ears which had been quickened considerably by the king's departure. Malicious falsehoods were not withheld—they never are in times of political fever. The Highlanders were told that it was an ill-concealed fact that the Government intended to transport them to the American plantations. They were to be kept for life in those realms of the most degrading banishment to penal servitude, which has blotted by its records the bloody story of English criminal law. The pretext for bringing them to London was really too flimsy, as they might easily perceive. To be reviewed by the king and the Prince of Wales, and his Majesty had embarked for Hanover before they arrived! He sailed on the day of their arrival. In fact, the real object and undisguisable intention of the order for them to leave the Highlands was to get so many faithful Jacobites, who were known to be disaffected to the House of Hanover, and of a rebellious spirit towards it, out of Great Britain altogether.

The Highlanders began to think they had been entrapped into the snare so feasibly described. The mere surmise of their being the victims of such a crafty and cowardly device, caused the indignation which is never slow to kindle in a Highlandman's breast to burn dangerously. They were strangers in a foreign land, at home they were gentlemen; and the feeling that the sacred laws of hospitality had been deliberately violated added to their rage at treatment which, real as it was, they had difficulty in beheving that the representations of it made to them were true. And when their confidence is shaken, there is no race so unreasoningly suspicious as the Highlanders. This is only the counterpart in their spirit to the fact, that in those whom they know they repose perfect confidence; if they are their superiors, it takes the form of implicit, respectful obedience. A stranger may obtain their trust, but it is after he proves that he merits it; and if once it is given, it is unreserved and

constant. Every officer had occasion to observe, in such transactions as the settlement of accounts with his men, how minute and strict, even punctilious, they were in every little matter; but after the matter was arranged, there was no more thought of scrutiny, his word or nod was as good as his written bond.

Notwithstanding all that the men felt on this ill-omened occasion, they behaved with moderation and firmness, a fact to be frequently observed when men of an impulsive fiery disposition are placed in a predicament similar to that of the Black Watch in this emergency. They believed themselves to be deceived and meanly betrayed, but they proceeded to no immediate measures of violence. Their anxious thought was how they could best get back to their own mountains of freedom and straightforward dealing. They believed their officers to have become like themselves the dupes of a cruel deception; and to them they imputed none of the blame. The incendiaries who had aroused them to a sense of their actual situation favoured this view of the question. They were hostile, not to the gentlemen in command of the regiment, but to the government; and the spirit of discontent and disaffection they sought to stir up, was evoked by accusing the Government of a breach of faith. The means they employed aiming at this end were successful to an extent, which the subsequent story of the mutiny will tell.

It was not in the interest of the enemies of the Government to keep the affair a secret. It was freely talked about. The publications of the day, both those which were opposed to the House of Hanover and those which advocated its cause, discussed it without reserve. Numerous pamphlets appeared, in which the conduct of the Government and of the Highlanders were canvassed as candidly as restrictions on the press at the time would permit. One in particular is selected by Colonel David Stewart in the account of the affair which he gives in his "Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland, with Details of the Military Service of the Highland Regiments," a standard work on the subject, as showing considerable knowledge of the affair, and containing a fair statement of the facts of the case. It appeared immediately after the mutiny. The author having alluded to the purpose for which these independent companies had been at first embodied, and having described their figure and dress, and the effect produced in England by the novelty of both, proceeds thus to state the cause and circumstances of the mutiny:

"From their first formation they had always considered themselves as destined to serve exclusively in Scotland, or rather

in the Highlands;* and a special compact was made, allowing the men to retain their ancient national garb. From their origin and local attachments they seemed destined for this special service. Besides, in the discipline to which they were at first subjected under their natural chiefs and superiors, there was much affinity with their ancient usages. So that their service seemed merely that of a clan sanctioned by legal authority. These and other considerations sanctioned them in the belief that their duty was of a defined and specific nature, and that they were never to be amalgamated with the regular disposable force of the country. As they were deeply impressed with this belief, it was quite natural that they should regard with great jealousy and distrust any indication of a wish to change the system. Accordingly, when the design of marching them in to England was first intimated to their officers, the men were not shy in protesting against this unexpected measure. By conciliating language, however, they were prevailed upon to commence and continue their march without reluctance. It was even rumoured in some foreign gazettes, that they had mutinied on the borders, killed many of their officers, carried off their colours, and returned to their native mountains. This account, though glaringly false, was repeated from time to time in those journals, and was neither noticed nor contradicted in those of England, though such an occasion ought not to have been neglected for giving a candid and full explanation to the Highlanders, which might have prevented much subsequent disquietude.

"On their march through the northern counties of England, they were everywhere received with hospitality. They

* A remark made by Major Grose in his "Military Antiquities," may be quoted here as confirming this statement of the anonymous pamphleteer. Treating of the formation of the Highland Regiment, and subsequent enlistment and desertion, while detailing the previous circumstances which led to it, he observes: "Among other inducements to enlist, thus improperly held forth, it is said the men were assured they should not go out of their own country. Under the faith of this promise, many respectable farmers' and tacksmen's sons entered themselves as privates in the corps who would not otherwise have thought of enlisting." After narrating various circumstances of the mutiny, the Major concludes: "This transaction shows the danger and even cruelty of making promises to recruits, under anything less than the greatest certainty that they will be faithfully observed; the contrary has more than once produced the most dangerous mutinies, and that even among the Highland regiments, whose education tends to make them more regular and subordinate than either the English or Irish; and if the causes of almost every mutiny that has happened were diligently and dispassionately inquired into and weighed, it will be found that nine-tenths out of ten of the soldiers, however wrong and unjustifiable in that mode of seeking redress, have had great reason of complaint, generally of some breach of positive promise made them at enlisting."

appeared in the highest spirits, and it was imagined that their attachment to home was so much abated that they would feel no reluctance to the change. As they approached the metropolis, however, and were exposed to the taunts of the true-bred English clowns, they became more gloomy and sullen. Animated even to the lowest private with the feelings of gentlemen, they could ill brook the rudeness of boors, nor could they patiently submit to affronts in a country to which they had been called by invitation of their sovereign.

"A still deeper cause of discontent preyed upon their minds. A rumour had reached them on their march, that they were to be embarked for the plantations. The fate of the marines, the invalids, and other regiments which had been sent to these colonies, seemed to mark out this service as at once the most perilous and the most degrading to which British soldiers could be exposed, with no enemy to encounter worthy of their courage. There was another consideration which made it peculiarly odious to the Highlanders. By the Act of Parliament of the eleventh of George I., transportation to the colonies was denounced against the Highland rebels, etc., as the greatest punishment that could be inflicted upon them except death; and when they heard that they were to be sent there, the galling suspicion naturally arose in their minds, that 'after being used as rods to scourge their own countrymen, they were to be thrown into the fire.' These apprehensions they kept secret even from their own officers; and the care with which they dissembled them is the best evidence of the deep impression which they had made. Amidst all their jealousies and fears, however, they looked forward with considerable expectation to the review, when they were to come under the immediate observation of his Majesty, or some of the royal family. On the 14th of May they were reviewed by Marshal Wade, and many persons of distinction, who were highly delighted with the promptitude and alacrity with which they went through their military exercises, and gave a very favourable report of them, where it was likely to operate most to their advantage.

"From that moment, however, all their thoughts were bent on the means of returning to their own country, and on this wild and romantic march they accordingly set out a few days after. Under pretence of preparing for the review, they had been enabled to provide themselves unsuspectedly with some necessary articles, and, confiding in their capabilities of enduring privations and fatigue, they imagined that they should have great advantages over any troops that might be sent in pursuit of them. It was on the

night between Tuesday and Wednesday after the review, that they assembled on a common near Highgate, and commenced their march to the north. They kept as nearly as possible between the two great roads, passing from wood to wood in such a manner that it was not well known which way they moved. Orders were issued by the Lords-Justices to the commanding officers of the forces stationed in the counties between them and Scotland, and an advertisement was published by the Secretary at War, exhorting the civil officers to be vigilant in their endeavours to discover their route. It was not, however, till about eight o'clock in the evening of Thursday 19th May, that any certain intelligence of them was obtained, and they had then proceeded as far as Northampton, and were supposed to be shaping their course towards Nottinghamshire. General Blakeney, who commanded at Northampton, immediately despatched Captain Ball of General Wade's regiment of horse, an officer well acquainted with that part of the country, to search after them. They had now entered Lady Wood, between Brig Stock and Dean Thorpe, about four miles from Oundle, when they were discovered. Captain Ball was joined in the evening by the general himself, and about nine all the troops were drawn up in order near the wood where the Highlanders lay. Seeing themselves in this situation, and unwilling to aggravate their offence by the crime of shedding the blood of his Majesty's troops, they sent one of their guides to inform the general that he might, without fear, send an officer to treat of the terms on which they should be expected to surrender. Captain Ball was accordingly delegated, and, on coming to a conference, the captain demanded that they should instantly lay down their arms, and surrender as prisoners at discretion. This they positively refused, declaring that they would rather be cut to pieces than submit, unless the general would send them a written promise signed by his own hand, that their arms should not be taken from them, and that they should have a free pardon. Upon this the captain delivered the conditions proposed by General Blakeney, viz., that if they would peaceably lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners, the most favourable report should be made of them to the Lords-Justices. When they again protested that they would be cut in pieces rather than surrender, except on the condition of retaining their arms, and receiving a free pardon,—'Hitherto,' exclaimed the captain, 'I have been your friend, and am still anxious to do all I can to save you; but, if you continue obstinate an hour longer, surrounded as you are by the king's forces, not a man of you shall be left alive; and, for my

own part, I assure you that I shall give quarter to none.'

"The captain then demanded that two of their number should be ordered to conduct him out of the wood. Two brothers were accordingly ordered to accompany him. Finding that they were inclined to submit, he promised them both a free pardon, and taking one of them along with him, he sent back the other to endeavour by every means to overcome the obstinacy of the rest. He soon returned with thirteen more. Having marched these to a short distance from the wood, the captain again sent one of them back to his comrades to inform them how many had submitted, and in a short time seventeen more followed the example. These were all marched away with their arms (the powder being blown out of their pans), and when they came before the general they laid down their arms. On returning to the wood they found the whole body disposed to submit to the general's troops.

"While this was doing in the country," says the intelligent writer to whom we are indebted for the foregoing facts, "there was nothing but the flight of the Highlanders talked of in town. The wiser sort blamed it, but some of their hot-headed countrymen were for comparing it to the retreat of the 10,000 Greeks through Persia; by which, for the honour of the ancient kingdom of Scotland, Corporal M'Pherson was erected into a Xenophon. But, amongst these idle dreams, the most injurious were those that reflected on their officers; and, by a strange kind of innuendo, would have fixed the crime of these people's desertion upon those who did their duty and stayed here.

"As to the rest of the regiment, they were ordered immediately to Kent, whither they marched very cheerfully, and were from thence transported to Flanders, and are by this time with the army, where, I daresay, it will quickly appear they were not afraid of fighting the French. In King William's war, there was a Highland regiment that, to avoid going to Flanders, had formed a design of flying into the mountains. This was discovered before they could put it into execution; and General M'Kay, who then commanded in Scotland, caused them to be immediately surrounded and disarmed, and afterwards shipped them for Holland.

"When they came to the confederate army, they behaved very briskly upon all occasions; but, as pickthanks are never wanting in courts, some wise people were pleased to tell King William that the Highlanders drank King James's health, a report which was probably very true. The king, whose good sense taught him to despise such dirty informations, asked General Talmash, who

was near him, how they behaved in the field? 'As well as any troops in the army,' answered the general like a soldier and a man of honour. 'Why, then,' replied the king, 'if they fight for me, let them drink my father's health as often as they please.' On the road, and even after they entered London, they kept up their spirits, and marched very cheerfully; nor did they show any marks of terror when they were brought into the Tower."

Another pamphlet of the day, while detailing a short examination of two of the deserters, shows the feelings by which they were influenced, their suspicions of some attempt to entrap them, and the horror they felt of the country to which they believed they were to be sent, and to avoid which they had set out on their daring return towards the mountains of their Highland home.

Private George Grant being asked several questions, answered to them in order through an interpreter. The answers were these:

"I am neither Whig* nor Papist, but I will serve the king for all that. I am not afraid; I never saw the man I was afraid of.

'I will not be cheated, nor do anything by trick.

"I will not be transported to the plantations, like a thief and a rogue.

"They told me I was to be sent out to work with black slaves: that was not my bargain, and I won't be cheated."

Could answers be more manly? And what language could more scathingly expose the villainy of a Government which would lay snares to entrap brave men like this with what they had not bargained for. The more any one reads of mutinies in the army and the navy in these days of some degree of respect for the rights of individual men, the more he is amazed that there have been so few such risings among the heroes of the army and navy.

John Stewart, of Captain Campbell's company, being interrogated, answered thus:

"I did not desert; I only wanted to go back to my own country, because they abused

* The term "Whig" was not applied by the Highlanders in a political sense. It extended generally to the neighbours on the plains; and especially to the Covenanters. According to Mrs Grant, in her "Superstitions of the Highlanders," this term "was by no means appropriated to political differences. It might perhaps mean, in a confined sense, the adherents of King William, by far the greatest caitiff in Highland delinquency. But it meant more; it was used to designate a character made up of negatives, who had neither ear for music nor taste for poetry, no pride of ancestry, no heart for attachment, no soul for honour; one who merely studied comfort and convenience, and was more anxious for the absence of positive evil, than the presence of relative good. A Whig, in short, was all that Highlanders cordially hated—a cold, selfish, formal character."

me, and said I was to be transported.

"I had no leader or commander; we had not one man over the rest.

"We were all determined not to be tricked. We will all fight the French and Spaniards, but will not go like rogues to the plantations.

"I am not a Presbyterian.

"No! nor a Catholic."

The Highlanders, who in their miniature imitation of the 10,000 Greeks, were all animated by the same spirit as George Grant and John Stewart, were marched back to London as deserters, and treated and tried accordingly. They were all arraigned before a court-martial on the 8th of June. After such justice as courts of the iniquitous nature which characterised these refuges of military and naval oppression and cruelty in those days, they were all found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. Only three of them, however, were honoured with this favourite death of a soldier. The others were consigned to a doom more degrading in the eyes of their brave countrymen, both then and now. Two brothers, Corporals Malcolm and Samuel M'Pherson, and Farquhar Shaw, a private, were ordered for execution, and shot on Tower Hill.

The following account of this untoward event appeared in *St James's Chronicle* of June 20, 1743:

"On Monday the 12th, at six o'clock in the morning, Samuel and Malcolm M'Pherson, corporals, and Farquhar Shaw, a private man, three of the Highland deserters, were shot upon the parade within the Tower, pursuant to the sentence of the court-martial. The rest of the Highland prisoners were drawn out to see the execution, and joined in their prayers with great earnestness. They behaved with perfect resolution and propriety. Their bodies were put into three coffins by three of the prisoners, their clansmen and namesakes, and buried in one grave, near the place of execution."

Near the place of execution! Far, far from those native glens where they had loved and were beloved, and farther from responsive sympathy; surrounded by strangers who did not understand their speech, could not read their looks, and had not means of access to their thrilling sense of the wrongs inflicted on them. These brave men were shot down like cowardly deserters, while their silent hearts throbbed with such pulsations of sorrow as only heroic souls conceal. The rest would indeed join with great earnestness in their prayers, but dark must have been the scared forbidden scowl, deep the flood of grief, and desperate the undertone of muttered vengeance which ruffled the wings of those earnest prayers. The Highlanders had been entrapped by foxy betrayers, and now three of their best

were sacrificed to satisfy a wolfish martial law. They were slaughtered, as regal stags from their distant, lonely mountains have often been since, in a cruel enclosure set up to suit the lazy convenience of high-born sportsmen who feared the excitement and danger of the hunt. Indignation at their fate is felt to this day among their countrymen; and official army books put into regimental libraries pass it glibly over.

As to the three victims, martyrs, or murdered men—any of the three terms will suit—they had their memorial in many hearts. They must have been such as even men can love. In the language of Colonel Stewart: "There must have been something more than common in the case or character of these unfortunate men, as Lord John Murray, who was afterwards colonel of the regiment, had portraits of them hung up in his dining-room." But, semi-official writer as the ardent colonel was, he adds: "I have not at present the means of ascertaining whether this proceeded from an impression on his lordship's mind that they had been victims to the designs of others, and ignorantly misled, rather than wilfully culpable, or merely from a desire of preserving the resemblances of men who were remarkable for their size and handsome figure."

Three paragraphs from the *Scots Magazine*, in the volume of 1743, tells what became of the regiment, and of the rest of the so-called deserters. The first, dated May, is: "More British troops gone to Flanders, among them Lord Sempill's Highland regiment." The second, dated September, is: "The Highlanders in the Tower were drawn out in parade on August 12th; and were drafted off to the Leeward Islands, Jamaica, New England, Georgia, Gibraltar, and Port Mahon, in order to be sent off by the first ships that sailed for these places." The third, also dated Septemher, is: "The Highlanders who were confined in the Tower, were carried to Gravesend, in order to be shipped—thirty for Gibraltar; twenty for Minorca; twenty for the Leeward Islands; twenty-eight for Jamaica; and thirty-eight for Georgia." Adding the three who were shot, the victims of Government treachery, whose fate has been recorded, were in all ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIX. The sufferings of the country in 1745 were in a large measure due to this betrayal; the glory which the 42d has achieved has been due to the boldness and bravery of men of like spirit with the two brothers, Malcolm and Samuel M'Pherson, and their brother in death, Farquhar Shaw.

MUTINY IN THE 72D REGIMENT, SEAFORTH'S HIGHLANDERS.

(NOW THE 72D REGIMENT, DUKE OF ALBANY'S OWN HIGHLANDERS.)

September 1787.

THIS memorable, but too common occurrence in Highland corps is still referred to throughout Scotland as "The Affair of the Macraes." It is, as every mutiny in these regiments was, an instance of bad faith with the men on the part of the Government of the time and its agents. Fidelity cannot be looked for from those who believe that they have been deceived, especially if Celtic blood fires their veins. Dishonour attaches to every breach of promise; but no transaction of the sort is so despicable as that which plots a mean treachery against loyal-hearted, straightforward men, who devote themselves to privations, sufferings, and probable death in circumstances of the direst misery, which is only mocked at by inglorious gaudiness, when they sell their personal liberty to become poor but honest soldiers.

The raising of the regiment in which this mutiny occurred is interesting. The Earl of Seaforth forfeited his estate and title by engaging in the rebellion of 1715. His grandson, Kenneth Mackenzie, repurchased the estate from the Crown, and was created an Irish peer under the title, Viscount Fortrose; and was, in the year 1771, restored to the ancient title of the family. In 1778 he made an offer to George III. to organise a corps on his estate, which had in former times been able to raise a thousand men under the banner of their chief. The offer was accepted, and, in the month of May, eleven hundred and thirty clansmen assembled at Elgin in obedience to the Earl of Seaforth's proclamation. This is a wonderful instance of the undying loyalty of the Highlanders to the head of their family. In poverty and exile he was as much respected as he was when in possession of rank and fortune. In 1732 four hundred of the attainted Lord Seaforth's sept had marched to Edinburgh to lodge a large sum of money, a portion of their rents, to be remitted to him in France.

The men who assembled at Elgin were principally raised from among the Mackenzies. Five hundred of them were from the Earl's own estates; about four hundred from among the Mackenzies of Redcastle, Applecross, Kilcoy, and Scotwell; while upwards of two hundred were from the Lowlands. The clan Macrae had long been devoted adherents to

the interests of the Seaforth family, and their name occurred so frequently in the corps, that it was known as the Macrae regiment.

After being reviewed at Elgin in May, they marched to the south, some direct to Edinburgh, and others temporarily sent to Glasgow and other towns in the west of Scotland, before proceeding to the metropolis.

In the month of June the regiment was inspected by General Skene, and was embodied as Seaforth's Highlanders, or the 78th of the line. They were all found to be so effective, that not a man of them was rejected. After being for some time quartered in Edinburgh Castle, and in the suburbs, orders came that they were to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hour's notice, similar orders having been sent to all the troops in England and Scotland, the reason being that the ministry had been advised that the French intended to invade Britain at some place or other not specified.

A few days later the regiment was ordered to proceed to Guernsey, with a view to relieve the M'Leod Highlanders, who had been told off for India, should their services there be required. At Guernsey the 78th would be at hand for the fray with the expected invaders. For this they were quite prepared. They would have met such a foe with alacrity. It was not fear of the French, cowardliness, nor any want of loyalty which bred the disturbance which preceded their embarkation. Their subsequent conduct, and even the courage they displayed in protecting their own interests on the occasion of their plucky mutiny, are quite sufficient to dispel any such surmises as these.

They were to have embarked on board transport ships, sent for the purpose to Leith Roads, on Tuesday, September 22. Several companies which had been in the Castle since the end of May, or the beginning of June, prepared for embarkation with the utmost cheerfulness. But the soldiers who had been quartered on the inhabitants of Canongate and the Abbey had been exposed to counsels and other influences which had not found free access to the stronghold at the top of Castle Hill. It was by no means a time of universal content with the Government and its policy, especially its warlike measures. It was indeed an era of political clubs, dangerous to the powers that were. Richard Parker, it will be remembered, had been trained in coteries like these, in that very city, for the prominent part he was to play as a mutineer in the navy ten years later; and men of like spirit with him—might he not have been one of them?—went vigorously to the work of spreading discontent and sedition among the access-

ible Highlanders whom they met on the streets, in their lodgings, or over the tables of the plentiful public-houses downstairs, or up the Closes. The men were very accessible for reasons other than these incendiaries had to assign. A difference had for some time subsisted between their officers and them. They alleged that they had not been paid their bounty-money, nor the arrears of their pay, and that they had been ill-used by the officers in many ways. And it will seem to most readers not improbable that they had some good grounds for these allegations, after they read a haughty and impertinent letter written by these officers two or three days after, when a compromise had been effected by gentlemen, who seem, at this distance of time, to have been wiser than they. As it was, however, the outside advisers of the billeted soldiers assured them that Lord Seaforth had sold them to the East India Company, and that they were to be sent to the distant unhealthy country, under that Company's control. They would thus have to spend an inglorious life, till an obscure death, inflicted by a deleterious climate, or a despicable enemy, relieved them, and would have no chance of reaping the shining honours to be won in a conflict with the French, almost in sight, and certainly within the hearing, of those they loved and had left behind them in their native Highland glens and homes.

The mutinous spirit of the malcontents first manifested itself not far from the Castle. The departure of the companies quartered in barracks there had been so timed that they were to meet their comrades who had been revelling in the rough and disloyal hospitality of the Canongate, at the North, or, as it was termed at the time, New Bridge. When they did meet, a scene of confusion bewildered the inhabitants and soldiers who were not in the secret, and gave scope to the mischievous propensities of those who were. The populace, however, soon took the popular view of such a question, and cheered the partisans of disobedience. Their advisers hounded them on; and they refused to march unless all their demands were complied with there and then. They repelled by force all the attempts of their officers to restore order. Obedience and discipline were at a discount. The men were encouraged in their mutinous conduct by the inhabitants, who insulted the officers, pelted them with stones, and struck them with their fists, or whatever they had, or could lay hold of.

A portion of the men were, however, got out of the disorder after a time, and started for Leith Links, where they met the two companies from the Abbey, who had marched thither by the Easter Road; and Lord Seaforth and the officers did

their best to allay the mutinous spirit by assuring the men that their demands would be complied with as soon as possible.

They were reduced to something like order on Leith Links; but when they were commanded to march to the Shore, another scene of disobedience occurred which created a most alarming confusion. Distrust of the nobleman at whose instance they had enlisted was general among the men, who felt also they had little occasion to put confidence in the other officers; and this time the greater portion of the corps broke out into open mutiny. Repeated entreaties, and promises that every just demand would be attended to and satisfied, failed to exercise any soothing influence. About five hundred were prevailed upon to go on board the transports, but an equal number were deaf to all assurances; and, being resolute, as well as in possession of powder and shot, they had no fear of the results of any attempt at compulsion. That would have been foolish and ineffectual, not to say necessarily fraught with fatal consequences.

The mutineers shouldered their arms, and set off at a quick march, with pipes playing, and two plaids fixed on poles for, not inappropriate, colours. They retired to Arthur's Seat, a selection of a place so well fitted for self-defence, that it looks like a preconcerted move. There they took up a position which enabled them to bid defiance to all attempts at coercion; and were plentifully supplied with provisions by the people of Edinburgh and Leith, a great many of whom were forward to show sympathy with the mutineers. Ammunition also in abundance was brought to them by their sympathising friends; so that they felt themselves pretty secure, and well able to hold out till the authorities saw fit to come to terms with them.

"The hill chosen for the rebel camp," remarks a writer in *Chambers's Journal* for January 1866, "was very different from the Arthur's Seat as it is now seen. Until within a very recent period, the level grounds surrounding it were divided into fields, many of the hollows were marshy and impassable, and the only roads were mere sheep-tracks. On this height, a well armed and provisioned force might have held its own for many months, in the then state of the military art. It is not a little curious that the last time Colonel M'Murdo reviewed the Edinburgh Volunteers, he led them through various movements directed against the very spot where the rebel Seaforths had taken up their encampment. Had it been necessary to reduce the mutineers by force, the attacking body would have had no splendid military road such as the Queen's Drive by which to approach the position, and would have found that in the marshy bog of Dunsappie,

and the rugged heights surrounding it, the rebels had powerful auxiliaries, absent in Colonel M'Murdo's mimic war."

Officers were appointed by the men; sentries were placed round their camp in regular form; and thus they felt themselves secure. The hillside encampment looked as much like the Highlands as was possible in the circumstances; and there were men on it who knew the tactics of Highland warfare. With such reflections these Highlanders were, for the short period the mutiny lasted, cheerful through the day, and slept soundly at night. They were visited in camp by persons of all ranks and classes.

The authorities were not idle. They seem to have taken instant action when they saw the meaning of the disorder which took place at the North Bridge on Tuesday. Troops were ordered to the city. On Wednesday a large body of the Eleventh Regiment of Dragoons arrived, two hundred of the Buccleuch Fencibles, and four hundred of the Glasgow Volunteers. On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, bodies of regular troops from various corps came marching into Edinburgh.

During this hill-encampment one of the mutineers fell over the rocks and was killed; another was accidentally shot through the thigh by one of his comrades, and was carried to the Royal Infirmary, which building was then in the suburbs; but now, near the end of its hospital days, it stands in a busy part of the city which has crept round it.

The authorities, both civil and military, seem to have taken a very lenient view of the conduct of these Macraes. This is the most remarkable part of the story, and it tends forcibly to confirm the impression that they knew the men had grievances about their pay, at all events, which it was right should be adjusted. General Skene second in command in Scotland at the time, visited the camp the morning after the outbreak, and behaved like a gentleman, fully aware that the men were not the only people who were to blame. Earl Seaforth had not completed his arrangements with Government for the raising of this regiment, it is well enough known, without a good deal of heart-burning on his part, and penurious jealousy on the part of the War Office authorities in London. If the men had not got their money, we may be sure it had not reached their officers. The pay-master would have been only too proud to have disbursed it. The authorities in Edinburgh, both civil and military, would know more of the real state of matters than they cared to put into words, spoken or written; their good sense and feeling of justice expressed themselves in lenient conduct towards men who were doing a venial wrong to rectify a flagrant breach of faith.

General Skene offered the men that an inquiry should be made into their alleged grievances, and that oblivion of all that had passed would be secured, if only they would consent to embark. The men saw that this was giving up all the advantage of their strong position. They insisted on having their money paid to them at once; and they required also that several officers named by them should be dismissed. A further demand they made was, that security should be given them that they would not be sent to the East Indies. On the same day, and on the day following, that is, on Wednesday and Thursday, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Dunmore, and Lord Macdonald, and many of the nobility besides, also of the gentry and clergy, visited the camp of the mutineers, and endeavoured to recall them to a sense of military duty; or, if their sense of the duty of securing their own rights by holding Government to its bargain with them was too strong, to bring about some solution of the difficulty.

On Thursday a report was spread that the Highlanders were threatening to march through the city, and that the troops would oppose them. Here was to be bloodshed on the High Street of Edinburgh, as there had been in the olden time. A proclamation was made by tuck of drum by order of the magistrates; and at noon the following printed paper was posted in all the public places: "Thursday, September 24th, 1778, all the inhabitants are to retire to their own houses on the first toll of the fire-bell." Nothing, however, happened. All remained perfectly quiet, and the inhabitants had little to fear. The Highlanders were not the men to do hurt to friends, and the people of Edinburgh had befriended them by their encouragement substantially expressed in supplies of provisions and ammunition.

A compromise was, however, happily effected on Friday morning, the fourth day of the mutiny, when the following terms were accepted by the men:

First, a general pardon for all past offences.

Second, that all arrears and levy-money should be paid before embarkation.

Third, that they should not be sent to the East Indies.

For supplementing the terms agreed on, a bond was granted, signed by the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Dunmore, Sir Adolphus Oughton, K.B., commander-in-chief, and General Skene.

About eleven o'clock in the forenoon the men marched down the hill, headed by the Earl of Dunmore, to St Ann's Yards, where they were met by General Skene, whom they saluted with three cheers. They then formed into a hollow square, and had the articles

read to them by the general. He made a short speech, in which he exhorted the men to be in good behaviour, and informed them that a court of inquiry would be held upon their officers next morning, composed of officers belonging to other regiments, which every man who thought himself aggrieved might attend; and he might be sure justice would be done to him, as well as to all concerned. The men were then billeted in the suburbs till the embarkation should take place.

This amicable settlement did not give satisfaction to some of the officers of the corps, probably those who were named by the men for dismissal. In the evening of the day on which the compromise took place, a letter appeared in the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, dated "Lawson's Coffee-house, Leith, Sept. 25," and signed, "The officers of the 78th Regiment." It read thus: "As we conceive the terms granted this day to the mutineers of the 78th Regiment to be totally inconsistent with the discipline of the regiment, and highly injurious to our characters as officers, we think ourselves bound to take this first opportunity of publicly declaring, that it was transacted without our advice, and against our opinion. We understand Lord Dunmore was the principal agent on this occasion; we therefore think it necessary also to declare, that he was never desired to interfere by any officer in the regiment, and, we believe, acted without any authority whatever." This is the haughty and impertinent letter already referred to. The articles were signed by the Duke of Buccleuch, Sir Adolphus Oughton, and General Skene, as well as by the Earl of Dunmore. General Skene read the articles, and gave a pacific address afterwards to the mutineers who had been subdued by reason. These "officers of the 78th Regiment" would have used stronger measures, *pour encourager les autres*, as has been remarked about the utility of measures of the last dire degree of extremity. Let us hope all the "officers of the 78th Regiment" did not sign this instructive document. It reveals where a good many faults lay, even if they were not guilty of keeping back the soldiers' money which it is not easy to see how they could. It was as well for them as well as for the proud victims of their many petty tyrannies that matters were managed without their advice and against their opinion, and that there was such a gentleman at hand as the Earl of Dunmore, "without being desired to interfere by any officer of the regiment," and who could accomplish such happy results, acting "without any authority whatever." Readers in our days who wish to see a little behind the curtain dropped over the earlier treatment which led the half of a regiment to

rebel, have reason to be grateful to these disciplinarian officers for the letter they wrote from "Lawson's Coffee-house." A "Friend to the Public" writing from Leith, criticises this letter with taunting sharpness. Writing to the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* he says, he feels himself called upon to applaud the wisdom and prudence of the reconciliation. The case was desperate, and few cases could be mentioned where so wide a breach was cemented in so easy a manner. He does not see how reconciliation can hurt the future discipline of the regiment, "when sure it is there could be no discipline had there been no men, as would visibly have been the case here, had not a reconciliation taken place." He asserts that the men would have submitted to the general in the first day of the mutiny, but for evil reports that one of Colonel Gordon's officers had come up as a spy to soothe them until they were surrounded by dragoons.

When Lord Dunmore came on Friday morning bearing the articles of capitulation, it is said, the men were engaged preparing a petition to General Skene, which forty of them were to have presented to him. And that, when the general addressed them at St Ann's Yards, behind Holyrood House, they with one voice said they would die for him, and serve the king in any quarter of the globe, except the East Indies.

In the Edinburgh papers of Monday, Spetember 28th, appeared an "Authentic Copy of the Report made to Sir James Adolphus Oughton, commanding His Majesty's Forces in North Britain, by the Court of Enquiry held at the Canongate Council-House 26th September 1778. The Court consisted of: Colonel Scott, President; Lieut.-Colonel Dundas, Majors Lyon, Stewart, and Whyte, members. The Court having heard a number of witnesses, and also the evidence of several others, which being of similar nature, they were not sworn, as they had no particular cause of complaint against their respective officers. The Court are unanimously of opinion, that there is not the smallest degree of foundation for complaints against any officer in the regiment in regard to their pay and arrears. And it further appears, that the cause of the retiring to Arthur's Hill, was from an idle and ill-founded report, that the regiment was sold to the East India Company, and that the officers were to leave them upon their being embarked on board the transports.

"(Signed) GEO. SCOTT,
Col. 83d Regt.
"(Appvd.) JA. ADOL. OUGHTON."

This mild report was dictated by the spirit which influenced the leading men to leniency, and the mutineers to compromise. The officers are freed of blame in regard to pay and arrears only. The men origin-

ally complained of their having been otherwise ill-used. The letter of the officers proves that they were quite capable of ill-usage. But the affair was pleasantly settled without their advice, and against their opinion, and for this they are the only unthankful persons on record; and this fact would not be thus repeated, were it not for a conviction in the writer's mind, that those who generally bear the punishments from which the leaders of this mutiny were mercifully saved, were "more sinned against than sinning—a mild and trite way of expressing a very significant truth.

In Ruddiman's *Weekly Mercury* appeared an effusion worthy of a Highland chief, dated Leith, October 4th, 1778, and signed "Seaforth." The earl writes: "A paragraph having appeared in an Edinburgh newspaper, and which has since been copied in the London papers, informing the public, that on the day of the tumult at Leith, previous to the first embarkation of the corps under my command, I had, upon my knees, begged my life from the enraged soldiers, I beg you will publish this to let the world know that it is an infamous falsehood; nor would the certainty of immediate death have procured from me so humiliating a concession. At the same time I must add, that I never had any apprehension for my personal safety during the whole time the mutiny lasted."

The wind-up of the affair is thus given in the Appendix to the volume of the *Scots Magazine* for 1778, p. 726: "On Tuesday morning, September 29, the remainder of the corps, with the Earl of Seaforth and General Skene at their head, marched from the Abbey Close to Leith, and went on board the transports with the greatest cordiality and cheerfulness. General Skene's prudence and good conduct in this troublesome business has, it is said, been highly approved of at head quarters. No bloodshed, notwithstanding a very threatening appearance."

Thus ended happily a very unhappy mutiny. The world is ruled by very little wisdom, a maxim which is well and forcibly illustrated by the doings of the rulers of Great Britain during what may be called the era of mutinies in the navy and army. Of this era the general features shall be summed up after the stories have been told in detail; but meantime all will remark how disastrous might have been the results of this "Affair of the Macraes." It was a time at which special efforts were imperatively required to recruit the army. Britain was in the midst of a struggle for existence. Europe was on the eve of mighty revolutions. It was the era of the French Revolution. Recruits for the army must be raised. The Highlands were a new mine, of a very broad and deep seam, to work for this

wealth of the nation. But the rulers in London were bunglers at that kind of mining. They did not know how to go the right way about it. They thought a plan, owned to be wrong everywhere else, would be right enough here. With characteristic ignorance and its concomitant conceit, they took the Highlanders for gullible savages. Never was a more fatal mistake made, and the British Government found that out, both as they were resisted and worsted in each of the mutinous proceedings of the Highland regiments, and as they were served and saved by the gallantry, endurance, and high moral character of these truth-loving sons of the mountains. Had this threatening mutiny put as strong a check on recruiting as it might have done, the story of the glory of the British regiments might have been duller, and more depressing reading to the relatives and descendants of those who acted as if they wished the settlement had been otherwise—the rule-bound "officers of the 78th Regiment" included.

To draw this short narrative to a close, the intention—which the Government really entertained, notwithstanding all attempts to conceal it—of sending the Seaforth Highlanders to India, having been postponed, they landed at Guernsey and Jersey in equal divisions, whence, at the end of March, they were removed to Portsmouth. On May 1, 1781, they embarked for India. Lord Seaforth died before they reached St Helena, to the great grief and dismay of his followers—for they still felt that they were of the clan, and he was their chief—the poor Highlanders who looked upon him as their only protector. On their account alone he had determined to abandon the comforts of a splendid fortune and high social consideration, to encounter the privations and inconveniences of a long voyage, and the dangers and fatigues of military service in a tropical climate. The inspiring spirit of the *coronach* would lay its hand heavily upon the soul of every Highlandman on that wide waste of waters, where their chief lay dead. The loss of him would associate with recollections of home, melancholy thoughts of their absent kindred, and gloomy forebodings of the future.

And their immediate future was gloomy enough. Before they reached Madras on April 2, 1782, two hundred and thirty of them had died of scurvy, and of the eleven hundred who had sailed from Portsmouth, only three hundred and ninety men were fit to carry arms when they landed. Still the pressure of the service did not admit of delay, and those who could at all be moved were marched up country. Such was the kind of service to begin with, for the privilege of entering which men had to risk their lives in mutiny

before they received that bounty-money and those arrears of pay, which they fondly wished to leave with their longing families, bereaved by their enlistment of means of support and the brightest cheer of the fireside.

This regiment became, in a sense, the progenitor of the 72d. In 1784, in consequence of the peace, Seaforth's regiment having been raised on the condition of serving for three years, or during the war, such of the men as stood to this agreement were allowed to return to England, while those who preferred staying in the country received the same bounty as the other volunteers. The number of men who claimed their discharge reduced the regiment to three hundred; but so many Highlanders from other regiments, ordered home on account of the peace, volunteered, that the strength of the corps was immediately augmented to eight hundred. In 1785 a detachment of recruits from the north of Scotland joined the regiment; and the following year, its number was changed to the 72d, in consequence of the reduction of senior regiments. In 1809 this regiment lost the kilt. In 1823 it began to be called the "Duke of Albany's Highlanders," after the second title of the Duke of York. But it is, as has just been shown, the descendant by direct succession of the 1130 men who assembled at Elgin in May 1778, principally of the clan of "Caber Fae," as the Mackenzies are called, from the stag's horns on the armorial bearings of Seaforth.

In a mutinous incident which occurred soon after this "Affair of the wild Macraes," Edinburgh was disturbed by another outbreak which took place among the West Fencible Highlanders, who had recently come from Glasgow with sixty-five French prisoners. It arose from some innovations or alterations which were proposed to be made in their ancient Highland garb—particularly the cartouch-box, which they alleged, "no Highland regiment ever wore before." By preconcerted arrangement, the whole of the men, when paraded on the Castle Hill, simultaneously tore them from their shoulders, cast them on the ground, and asserted loudly that they would not wear them. A few days after, the general marched four companies to Leith, where they were surrounded by the 10th Light Dragoons, and compelled, at the point of the sword, to accept the pouches, which were piled up before them. By a court-martial held on Leith Links, several of the leaders were tried and scourged, after which the remainder marched to Berwick.

Meanwhile the company on guard in the Castle, hearing of these proceedings, broke into open revolt, lowered the portcullis, drew up the bridge, and

loaded several pieces of cannon. The city, Mr James Grant says, in his *Castle of Edinburgh*, from which this short account is taken, was filled with consternation, and a strong cavalry force took possession of the Castle Hill.

The crisis was indeed dangerous, for the vaults of the castle were full of French and Spanish prisoners. A French squadron was cruising off the coast, and had captured two vessels at the mouth of the Forth. Next day the company capitulated, and all laid down their arms save one, who with his claymore, madly assailed an officer of the 10th, who struck him down and had him secured. The cavalry occupied the castle until the arrival of Lord Lennox's regiment, when a court-martial was held, which sentenced one Highlander to be shot, and another to receive a thousand lashes. But both were forgiven on condition of serving beyond the seas in a corps of the line—a strange sort of conclusion in the circumstances.

MUTINY IN THE OLD 76TH REGIMENT

(MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS).

March 1779.

THIS mutiny was so quietly conducted and so honourably concluded that it made little stir in the newspapers of the time. The *Scots Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Advertiser* take no notice of it. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of Saturday March 20, 1779, says: "A report having spread that General Macdonnell's Highlanders, who were embarked at Burntisland on Wednesday last, were to go to the East Indies, with Lord M'Leod's second battalion, this circumstance gave a few of them uneasiness, but on their being assured that they were to go to North America, the whole embarked with great cheerfulness and loud huzzas. It is no less true than remarkable, that not a man has deserted from this regiment since they received orders at Aberdeen and Banff to embark for America. Lord Macdonald marched with them from Perth, and assisted at the embarkation; and it is but justice to say, that the behaviour, sobriety, and good conduct of the regiment since they were raised, reflects the highest honour upon the officers and men."

This meagre reference to an affair as honourable to the Highlanders as it was a disgrace to the Government of the time,

or its officials, is a misstatement of the facts, as they are recorded by Major-General David Stewart in his "Sketches," a book on which all subsequent writers have relied as the standard authority on the subject of these "Historical Mutinies." The reason for the mutiny, as we learn from that writer, whose statements, as he says in the preface to his work, "are grounded on authentic documents; on communications from people in whose intelligence and correctness he places implicit confidence; on his own personal observation; and on the mass of general information, of great credibility and consistency, preserved among the Highlanders of last century,"—the reason for this mutiny was the not unusual, mean, huckstering about money, in trying to cheat the Highlanders out of their pay.

As to the regiment, letters of service were issued to Lord Macdonald, in December 1779, to raise a regiment in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, allowing that nobleman the same military rank as had been conferred on the Earl of Seaforth, by whose influence, as the readers of the mutiny just recorded in this volume, so many brave men had been added to the military efficiency of Great Britain. When such influence could be swayed, it was found convenient to promote the Highland gentleman who possessed it to high rank in the army, without demanding that he should go through the various gradations up to it. Lord Macdonald, however, declined this privilege of his rank, and recommended Major John Macdonnell of Lochgarry for the colonelcy of the regiment, who was, accordingly, appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant. Lord Macdonald did not relax his endeavours to give the letters of service addressed to him practical significancy. Although he held no military rank, he still exerted himself to complete the regiment. His influence was as successful as it was extensive. He made a wise selection of officers from among the Macdonalds of Glencoe, Morar, Boisdale, and others of his own clan, and also from the families of Mackinnon, Fraser of Culduthel, and Cameron of Cullart, not to mention others. Thus 750 Highlanders were raised. A company was raised, principally in Ireland, by Captain Bruce. Other two, amounting to nearly 200 men, were gathered from the lowlands of Scotland by Captains Cunningham of Craigends, and Montgomery Cunningham, aided by Lieutenant Samuel Graham. In this manner 1086 men were raised, including non-commissioned officers and drummers; and each race was kept distinct.

General Skene reviewed the regiment at Inverness in March 1778, and immediately afterwards, it was marched to Fort George, under the command of

Major Donaldson, where it remained for twelve months.

The corps was removed to Perth in March 1779, and reviewed there again by General Skene on the 10th of that month. Being complete in number, and in an excellent state of discipline, they were marched to Burntisland for embarkation, and were quartered in that port and the neighbouring town of Kinghorn. There were unmistakable signs of uneasiness among the men. The report of the time was to the effect, as the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* has it, that they were destined for the East Indies instead of for North America. The East Indies and the plantations of America were two of the horrors of a Highland regiment in those old days, and for good reasons, as the Seaforth men learnt to their bitter cost in the former country, and all men who were sent were made to feel it in the latter. But this was not the cause of the ominous discontent.

Soon after their arrival at Burntisland, great numbers of the Highlanders were observed to group themselves in parties, and engage in earnest conversation. Highlanders usually converse earnestly, especially when they feel they have a grievance; and the groups at Burntisland had a grievance, in relation to a subject for which the Government they had sworn to serve faithfully had worked out for itself a bad reputation. The men conversed to some wise purpose. They conducted the most peaceable mutiny ever a wrong-headed Government forced upon its valiant defiers. And they did it thus. In the evening of the third day after their arrival at Burntisland, each company gave in a written statement, complaining of the non-performance of promises, of bounty-money not paid, and other neglects of duty on the part of the party in power, which were only too common in those days, as they would be at all times, if their intended victims had not the pluck and the power to frighten them. The statement was accompanied with a declaration, that till these complaints were properly looked into and settled, the men would not embark. They requested, also, that Lord Macdonald, their trusted chief, as well as the patron of the regiment into which they had been formed, should be sent to see justice done to his clansmen.

Answer was as usual delayed. It neither returned soon enough, nor in the manner they expected it would be sent; and the Highlanders took action in their own stubborn and effective way.

They got themselves arrayed in order, and marching in a body, took possession of a hill behind Burntisland, and there they took up a position from which it would have considerably troubled any available force to dislodge them. While continuing firm in their purpose, the mutineers abstained from

all violence. They, in their law-defying position, abstained also from all lawlessness. As, for example, when several other young soldiers wished to join them in their rebellious camp, possibly more for the fun of the thing than any grievance they could assign, the Highlanders ordered them back to their quarters, telling them they had no cause of complaint, and no claims to be adjusted; that they ought to do their duty, obey their officers, and leave Highlanders to answer for their own conduct.

They continued for some days in their camp on the hill, which gives its name to the town—*Brenty*-land—the land with the *brent* or high brow, as John Anderson's "bonny brow was *brent*," thus Bruntiland, spelt Burntisland, a word compounded of two well-known words, whose combined meaning gets no explanation from the neighbourhood. They sent parties regularly down to the town for provisions, and paid punctually for what they received. It happened fortunately that the regiment was at the time commanded by Major Donaldson, an officer of great experience, and quite as firm in his manner as he was conciliating. He was himself a Highlander—Donaldson, a lowlandised form of Macdonald—and had served nineteen years as adjutant and captain of the Black Watch. He had, therefore, a competent knowledge of the habits and peculiar character of his fellow-countrymen. He ordered an investigation of the complaints of his men, and the grounds for them. Aided by Lieutenant David Barclay, the pay-master, this inquiry was carefully conducted, and every man's claim was clearly made out. It seems to have been a mismanaged business, when the men knew this before their superiors, and these only found it out after they had been defied in a most daring manner to look into the facts of the case.

Lord Macdonald had been sent for as requested; and when he arrived the statement of claims was laid before him. His lordship and Major Donaldson advanced the money, and took on themselves the risk of recovering it from those who were responsible both for the money, the neglect to pay—if not the intention not to pay it—and for the risk of ruin to which they had heartlessly exposed a body of brave and honourable soldiers.

Colonel Stewart remarks with pride: "It is a fact that ought not to be overlooked, and which I have from the best authority (as, indeed, I have for all I state), that when the individual claims were sent to the Isle of Skye, *all, without exception, were found to be just;* a circumstance which, no doubt, was taken into consideration by those who had to form a judgment of this act of insubordination."

This was as formidable a

mutiny as any on record, but the issue of it was most gratifying. Not a man was brought to trial or even put in confinement. This detracts from its melodramatic interest, and renders its story less exciting than it would have been had innocent blood been freely shed, and merciless executions afterwards been falsely deemed to atone for it. But its human interest is of the deepest. How many of the disgraces and dire catastrophes for which the governments of the world should stand pilloried to all the ages, but which are blotted over by the blood of the bravest, would have been averted, had truth met with mercy as in this case it did?

The regiment embarked at Burntisland on the 17th of March; and "before they sailed, all the men of Skye and Uist sent their money home to their families and friends."

Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonnell having been taken prisoner on his passage home from America, and Major Donaldson's health not allowing him to embark, the command devolved on Major Lord Berridale, who accompanied the regiment to New York, where it landed in August. In the American war, they, when chance came in their way, confirmed the impression of pluck and bravery, which their conduct as mutineers was fitted to make. It is difficult to end this account of their peculiarly auspicious mutiny, without repeating the following anecdote, which illustrates the fibre of men who had in their own country to strike for their pay at the risk of being shot. On the occasion of the first order they received to go under fire, at the moment Lord Cornwallis was giving the word to charge, a Highland soldier rushed forward and placed himself in front of his officer, Lieutenant Simon Macdonald of Morar. Lieutenant Macdonald having asked him what brought him there, the soldier answered, "You know, that when I engaged to be a soldier, I promised to be faithful to the king and to you; and while I stand here, neither bullet nor bayonet shall touch you, except through my body"

MUTINY OF DETACHMENTS OF THE 42D AND 71ST REGIMENTS

(ROYAL HIGHLAND AND FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS).

April 1779.

SOME account of the raising of the Royal Highland Regiment, the Black Watch, has been given in relating the story of that mutiny, in which they imitated in miniature, according to some of the fertile imaginations of the time, the conduct of Xenophon's 10,000 Greeks, and showed a spirit as worthy of immortal renown as theirs.

Fraser's Highlanders were named after the Honourable Simon Fraser, son of that fine old Lord Lovat, who was beheaded on Tower Hill for the part he took in the Rebellion of 1745. The Honourable Simon Fraser had himself been engaged in the insurrection. But ten years worked a wonderfully wise revolution in the opinions and sentiments of the most sagacious advisers of the reigning House of Hanover. Mr Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, in the exercise of a policy as patriotic as it was prudent, applied a remedy for the disease of disaffection which raged among the Highlanders in their mountain homes. His sagacity had enabled him to diagnose skilfully and successfully this great social and political evil. He observed that the secret of the attachment of the Highlanders to the descendants of their ancient kings, lurked in the romantic and chivalrous disposition of those clans; and that this kept inspiring them with a sentiment of mistaken loyalty, by constant references to the sufferings and misfortunes of the fallen line of the Stuarts.

Mr Pitt, therefore, abandoned the self-defeating illiberality which alienated from the throne he served so loyally, the affections of a valuable portion of his fellow-subjects, and won over to the persons of George II. and his successors, the gratitude, and as has been amply proved, the incorruptible fidelity, of the Highlanders.

With this in view, the great minister, in the year 1757, recommended to his Majesty the employment of them, as freely as could be accomplished, in the military service of Great Britain. And a bold bid was made in appointing the quondam rebel, Simon Fraser, lieutenant-colonel commandant of a battalion, to be raised on the forfeited estate of his family—which was at that time vested in the Crown—and on the other estates of his kinsmen and clan.

The result proved the wisdom of Mr Pitt's suggestion, and brought out into striking relief the disinterested fidelity of his people to the disinherited young Lovat. He had neither estate nor money. The only influence he possessed was the faithful attachment of his Highlandmen to a family he had not disgraced in their eyes. His person and the name he bore were talismans sufficient to gather in a few weeks, around the standard he raised, 800 men, all recruited by himself. The gentlemen of the country and the officers appointed to the regiment added 700 more; and a battalion of 1460 men was thus added to the British army.

All accounts agree as to the superior military character of this body of men. The regiment was quickly marched to Greenock, where it embarked to cross the Atlantic, and landed at Halifax in 1757. It was quartered alternately in Canada and Nova Scotia till the conclusion of the war, when, a number of the officers and men expressing a desire to settle in North America, all who made this choice were discharged and received a grant of land. The rest were sent home and disbanded in Scotland.

The success which attended the crucial experiment suggested by Mr Pitt, was acknowledged by all—by none more than the king in whose reign the regiment was embodied.

Colonel Fraser was, in the year 1774, restored to his family estate by a free grant of George III. In 1775 he again received letters of service for raising in the Highlands a regiment of two battalions. He was now in possession of wealth and territorial influence; but he relied, for the effecting of his purpose, as much on the respect and attachment felt by his countrymen towards the family he belonged to, and to his person, as he had done eighteen years before. He expected no difficulty, and experienced none. At his call, two battalions, numbering 2340 Highlanders, were marched to Stirling, and thence to Glasgow, in 1776. This formed the 71st regiment; and it shortly after sailed for America from Greenock in a large fleet, which took out also the 42d and other troops. They disembarked in America in July of the same year, and in the battles and skirmishes in which they were constantly employed, they bore a cheerful part, their spirit and intrepidity were universally acknowledged.

Recruiting for the 71st and the 42d was vigorously carried on at home. In the Highlands, Frasers and others were eager to join their kinsmen in the exploits of a troublous time in the Far West. Many of their relations had settled in North America at the conclusion of that war after which the earlier Fraser's Highlanders had been disbanded. The military spirit was inspired by the hardy sons

of mountains as they breathed their native breezes, emblems of freedom. They longed to leave their poor, though much loved, hills and dales, and to go abroad, where military glory or material prosperity seemed so certainly attainable. They arranged easily with the recruiting agents, and enlisted with gladness of heart.

It is proverbially a thorny, crooked by-way, which leads out of narrow beginnings into the broad fields of boundless enterprise. Ardent imaginations get impatient, and impatience procures experience of many annoyances. There are also to be encountered in these crooked ways men who have no ardent imaginations, and possess great patience to take advantage of the victims of eager hearts who are hurrying to labour forward. Incalculable mischief often ensues from the enforced contact of these two different classes, who are always to be found in every walk of life, as the following story of a mutiny will illustrate.

On the 20th of April 1779, just about the time when their regiments were doing wonders at Brien Creek in America, a party of about fifty Highlanders, recruited for the 71st and 42d regiments, were marched to Leith from Stirling Castle, for the purpose of embarking to join their then famous corps. This was what the men understood, and they looked forward eagerly and joyfully to it. But a report reached their ears which appalled them, and drove them into a mad and fatal mutiny. It was rumoured that they were to be drafted into the Edinburgh, Hamilton, the Glasgow—respectively the 80th, the 82d, and the 83d regiments—or some other corps wearing the lowland garb, and speaking the English tongue. The men remonstrated, when they heard this rumour so frightful to them, and openly declared their firm determination to serve in no regiment but that in which they had enlisted. They refused to go on board the transports. The following despatch, sent to Edinburgh Castle, was delivered on the same evening by a dragoon:

"To Governor Wemyss of Edinburgh Castle, or the commanding officer of the South Fencible Regiment.

"*Headquarters, April* 1779.

"Sir,—The drafts of the 71st regiment having refused to embark, you will order 200 men of the South Fencibles to march immediately to Leith, seize those mutineers, and march them prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh, to be detained there until further orders.—I am, etc.,

"JA. ADOLPHUS OUGHTON."

A party of about 200 South Fencibles, under the command of Major Sir James Johnstone, three captains—one of them the unfortunate Captain James Mansfield—and six subalterns, were sent to Leith. The fencibles, on their arrival

at Leith, found the Highlanders drawn up, with bayonets screwed, their backs to the walls facing the quay. Sir James Johnstone drew up his men so as to prevent any of the mutineers escaping; and, attended by a sergeant who spoke Gaelic, went up to them, stated clearly the positive orders he had received, and expostulated with them on the folly of resistance. The sergeant reasoned with them too, and in their own language. But he soon turned to the major, and entreated him to retire, as he was convinced the Highlanders would fire.

Sir James Johnstone, upon this, ordered the division on the right to present, and afterwards to recover arms. They did so; but meanwhile, a sergeant observed one of the Highlanders attempting to escape, and seized him by the collar. This sergeant immediately received two wounds by a sword or bayonet, another sergeant of the fencibles was wounded by a musket shot; then several shots were fired on both sides. Captain James Mansfield, a highly esteemed and very worthy officer of the Fencibles, was killed by one of the first shots. It seems that Captain Mansfield was in front, and after some words, one of the Highlanders pushed at him with his bayonet, but missing his push, fired his piece, and killed the ill-fated gentleman on the spot. A corporal who stood near shot the Highlandman; and instantly a good many shots were fired. About fifteen Highlanders were killed, and above twenty wounded; and of the fencibles two privates were killed, and one wounded. The fencibles returned to the castle with 25 prisoners, several of whom were wounded. Nearly thirty wounded were taken to the Royal Infirmary. This addition to the wards of that institution rendered necessary an urgent appeal to the public for a large supply of old linen. The response to this request was so liberal on the part of the inhabitants, that the managers of the Infirmary acknowledged it with gratitude in the newspapers.

The question, where had the Highlanders got the ammunition they used on this occasion, was considered very important, but it was never satisfactorily answered. It was said to be quite well known, that they had received no regular supply. At all events, a Leith porter, known as "Tinkler Tom," and "a stout man with one leg"—a sorry couple—were taken up, and accused of inciting the mutiny, and of procuring ammunition for the mutineers, while the following proclamation was issued: "From the investigation before the sheriff, respecting the unlucky affair that happened on Tuesday afternoon at Leith, there is great reason for thinking that the Highlanders were not provided with ammunition of any kind until they arrived

at Leith; and, as there is just cause for suspecting that they have been supplied with ammunition, either by the person presently in custody, or some others in Leith who have not yet been discovered, a reward of £50 sterling is hereby offered to any one, the person guilty excepted, who will disclose by whom any of the Highlanders were furnished, improperly, with ammunition on Tuesday last. The reward to be paid by me, William Scot, procurator-fiscal, upon conviction of the offenders.

"WILLIAM SCOT."

On Thursday, May 6th, a court-martial sat in Edinburgh Castle, to try Charles Williamson, Archibald Maciver, and Robert Budge, three of the soldiers who had been made prisoners at Leith on the 20th of April. The court was composed of the following officers: Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas, President; Major John Campbell, Captain James Campbell, Captain Angus M'Alister, Lieutenant William Morison, and Lieutenant James Ferguson, West Fencibles; Major James Mercer and Captain Lord Haddo, North Fencibles; Captain John William Romer and Lieutenant Lord Napier, 31st Foot; Captain John Popple and Lieutenant Peter Boisier, 11th Dragoons; Lieutenant Alexander Trotter, 66th Foot.

The following is the charge as it was read to the three mutineers:

"Charles Williamson and Archibald Maciver, soldiers of the 42d Regiment of Foot, and Robert Budge, soldier in the 71st Regiment of Foot, you, and each of you, are charged with having been guilty of mutiny at Leith, upon Tuesday, the 20th of April last past, and of having instigated and incited others to be guilty of the same, in which mutiny several of his Majesty's subjects were killed and others wounded.

"You are to stand trial on the above charge, on Thursday, 6th May 1779.

"JAMES DUNDAS, J.A."

In behalf of the accused, the following defences were lodged:

"The charge against the prisoners is, that they were guilty of mutiny at Leith on Tuesday the 20th of April, and of instigating and inciting others to be guilty of that mutiny, in which several of his Majesty's subjects were killed and others wounded, and they have pleaded Not Guilty to the charge. The prisoners, Archibald Maciver and Charles Williamson enlisted as soldiers in the 42d Regiment, being an old Highland regiment, wearing the Highland dress. Their native language was Erse (*Gaelic*), the one being a native of the northern part of Argyleshire, and the other of the western part of Inverness-shire, where

the language of the country is Erse only. They have used no other language, and are so ignorant of the English tongue, that they could not avail themselves of it for any purpose in life. They have always been accustomed to the Highland habit, so far as never to have worn breeches; a thing so inconvenient, and even so impossible for a native Highlander to do, that when the Highland dress was prohibited by Act of Parliament, though the philibeg was one of the forbidden parts of the dress; yet it was found necessary to connive at its use, provided only it was made of a stuff of one colour, and not of tartan; as is well known to all acquainted with the Highlands, particularly the more mountainous parts of the country. These circumstances made it necessary for them to enlist and serve in a Highland regiment only, as they neither could have understood the language, nor have used their arms, or marched in the dress of any other regiment.

"The prisoner Robert Budge is a native of Caithness, where his mother tongue likewise was Erse, and that language was commonly used by him; for though he had acquired so much of the English tongue as to enable him to buy from or to sell to one who spoke English, in the common articles of commerce in the country; yet he could not have made use of it in the ordinary run of the occurrences of life. too, had been accustomed to the philibeg; and found, that in any other dress than the Highland one, he could not have performed the duties of a soldier; he therefore, likewise enlisted in the 71st Regiment, which is a Highland corps.

"The prisoners, along with a detachment, to the number of between sixty and seventy, were marched from Stirling on the 19th April last. They arrived in the town of Leith, all the three being on carts, so that none of them were on the Links on the 20th of that month. During March, they behaved with that obedience which belongs to soldiers, nor have they been accused of any riotous or mutinous behaviour on the road. When the rest of the detachment arrived on Leith Links, the prisoners understand, they were informed, by their officer Captain Innes, who had conducted them, that they were now to consider the officers of the 83d or Glasgow Regiment —a regiment wearing the lowland dress, and speaking the English tongue—as their officers; but how this happened they were not informed. No order from the commander-in-chief, to their being drafted was read or explained to them; but they were told, they must immediately march to the shore and embark.

"A great number of the detachment represented without any disorder or mutinous behaviour, that they were alto-

gether unfit for service in any other corps than a Highland one; particularly, that they were incapable of wearing breeches as part of their dress. At the same time, they declared their willingness to be regularly transferred or drafted into any other Highland regiment, or to continue to serve in those regiments into which they had been originally enlisted. But no regard was paid to these remonstrances, which, if they had had an opportunity, they would have laid before the commander-in-chief; but an order for immediate embarkation must prevent this. The articles of war, which are appointed to be read and published once in every two months, at the head of every regiment, troop, or company mustered, and to be daily observed, and exactly obeyed by all officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service, cannot be unknown to any soldier, and must be attended to by them. By the sixth section of these articles, and article 3, it is declared: 'That no non-commissioned officer or soldier shall enlist himself in any other regiment, troop, or company, without a regular discharge from the regiment, troop, or company in which he last served, on the penalty of being reputed a deserter, and suffering accordingly; and in case any officer shall knowingly receive and entertain such non-commissioned officer or soldier, or shall not, after his being deserter, immediately confine him, and give notice thereof to the corps in which he last served, he, the said officer, so offending, shall, by a court-martial, be cashiered.'

"The detachment found themselves in a disagreeable situation. None of them were possessed of discharges, in terms of this article of war, to enable them voluntarily to enter into another corps, other than the one they had enlisted in. No order from the commander-in-chief had been read or explained to them, which could either supersede the necessity or entitle them to the benefit of such discharge. Captain Innes was no field-officer, and could not grant them one; and the officers of the Glasgow Regiment seemed, in such circumstances, disabled from assuming a military command over them. The natural idea that suggested itself to them was, that they should insist on serving still in the same regiment in which they were enlisted, and not go abroad as part of the 83d Regiment, till such time as these difficulties were removed. They accordingly drew up, under arms, on the shore of Leith, each respective corps by itself; and the prisoners, seeing them drawn up, joined them, and were informed of what had happened.

"The prisoners are informed that the orders that were issued to the detachment of the Southern Fencibles that came down to Leith, were: To make them prisoners, and conduct them all

to the castle. Had these orders been explained to them, they would have submitted, and, with proper humility, have laid their case before those that could give them redress. But, unfortunately, the sergeant who explained the orders to them in Erse, represented to them as if they were immediately to go abroad as a part of the Glasgow Regiment; but which they do, with great deference, say, they did not, at the time, conceive they could lawfully have done.

"None of the prisoners were guilty of any actual violence. No man received any hurt from them. The prisoner Maciver declared 'that he would not fire,' when some among the mob called out to them to do it. The prisoner Williamson had got drunk at Linlithgow, and continued very much intoxicated to the very end; so that he was not perfectly conscious of what he was doing. And the prisoner Budge behaved in a very inoffensive manner, and surrendered himself quietly as a prisoner. None of all the three had any ammunition, nor could they have any previous intention to mutiny; the fact of their being to be transferred to another regiment having been intimated to them of a sudden, so as to leave no room for deliberation."

The evidence was taken on Thursday and Friday.

The *Scots Magazine* says: "Though in military events, prisoners are not usually allowed counsel; yet in this case, by the candour of the commander-in-chief, a very eminent lawyer, Mr Andrew Crosbie, was permitted to appear on behalf of these prisoners." This is no other than the talented, eloquent, and jovial gentleman, alleged to have been the original in Sir Walter Scott's mind of the inimitable "Pleydell" in "Guy Mannering." A portrait of him is to be seen in the Parliament House of Edinburgh, with the inscription beneath: "Vice-Dean Crosby, 1784-85. Bequeathed by his widow."

Lieutenant Stillfax, of the 55th, deponed: That thirteen men of the 42d, and fifty-one of the 71st, in all sixty-four men, set off from Stirling to Leith, where they arrived on the 20th of April 1779, at eleven o'clock before noon: That he got a letter on the 19th of April from Captain Imrie, aid-de-camp to General Skene, to march the men to Leith; and that this in consequence of an order from General Oughton; but the place of destination was not then mentioned to the men: That Captain Innes, of the 71st, received the orders for incorporating them with the 83d Regiment. The deponent, in consequence of an order from Captain Innes, marched the men to the Links of Leith, in order to embark: That they learned when they came to the Links of Leith, that they were to be embarked and incorporated with the 83d. This they learned

from Major Ramsay, one of the officers of the Glasgow Regiment: That he marched the men to the town of Leith, in order to embark them: That the men seemed much concerned at understanding that they were to be turned over to the Glasgow Regiment, as they were enlisted for a Highland corps: That they made no resistance till they came to the shore, to which they marched quietly, being at first in order, but afterwards became mutinous: That five of the 42d, and two of the 71st Regiment, went on board; but the remainder fixed their bayonets, and said, they neither would embark nor be drafted: That the townspeople afterwards got amongst them, and gave them liquor, and they turned more mutinous than ever: That he knows the prisoners were of the mutineers; and that Maciver, pretending to be sick, was carried in a baggage-cart from Stirling to Leith: That about a quarter or half an hour before the fencibles came down to Leith, he saw Maciver upon the right of the mutineers, with his bayonet fixed; and when they came down, he went from man to man along the ranks; witness did not hear what he said; but, from his gesture, supposed he was persuading the men to refuse to embark; and seemed to be quite sober, and very determined: That he also observed Williamson, one of the prisoners, who seemed to be drunk and was very noisy: That he cannot say any of the prisoners fired: That Williamson and the whole of the men had fixed their bayonets; but he did not know who fired first: When they fixed their bayonets, they refused to go on board, and refused all obedience to orders. Being interrogated for the prisoners, this witness declared, he saw Budge have his bayonet fixed; but observed nothing else particular in his conduct more than the rest: That the greatest objection the mutineers had to the 83d Regiment, was the wearing of long cloth and breeches; and heard some of them declare, they were willing to go into any Highland regiment, and all of them willing to join their own respective corps.

Captain Innes, of the 71st, deponed: That he marched the men mentioned in the preceding deposition from Stirling: That they set off on the 19th, lay at Linlithgow that night, and set off next morning for Leith: That the men's arms were examined before leaving Linlithgow, and no powder or shot was found upon them; and to the best of his knowledge and belief, at that time they had no ammunition about them: That he received a letter (now produced) from General Oughton while at Linlithgow, advising that the men under his command were to be incorporated into the 83d Regiment; but did not then communicate the same to the men: That on the morning of

April 20th he went from Linlithgow to General Oughton for orders, and the men were marched to Leith Links where the witness joined them: That from people on the Links they learned that they were to be incorporated with the 83d Regiment, at which they expressed their displeasure; and Maciver and Williamson swore, that they would rather die on the spot than be drafted into the 83d Regiment; at the same time they declared their willingness to go into their own corps, or to any other Highland regiment: That when he marched the Highlanders to Leith shore, Maciver and Williamson instigated the mutiny, by doing all they could to prevail on the 71st to join them in it, who to appearance had no such intention; and the witness believes, had the men of the 71st Regiment come by themselves, they would have been prevailed upon to embark: That two of the 71st and five of the 42d Regiment did go on board; and the rest refused, and fixed their bayonets; on which the witness went to General Oughton, and acquainted him with what had happened. He was absent about an hour: That General Oughton despatched Captain Imrie to the Castle of Edinburgh for a detachment of 200 of the South Fencibles: That, upon his return to Leith, he found the men in a single rank, with their backs to the wall: That the witness exhorted and admonished them to go on board; told them that the fencibles were coming down; and if they persisted in their disobedience, the consequence was they would be shot: That at this time he found many of the men in liquor, and they declared they were under no apprehension from the fencibles, and that they would stand upon their defence: That in about an hour after the witness returned from General Oughton, the fencibles arrived at Leith: That Captain Innes employed that interval in endeavouring all he could to bring the men to a sense of their duty; but to no purpose, they being extremely insolent to him; and one Muir made a push at the witness with his bayonet: That upon the appearance of the fencibles, he again spoke to them, and told them that, if they continued refractory, they would be shot, to which they answered, they would rather be shot than be drafted into the Glasgow Regiment. The witness did not know from whom the first fire came: That, upon his retiring, he heard a shot from the right of the line, and he thought it came from the wall: That the fencibles arrived about an hour before the witness left the mutineers: That, during the period, the witness, and the other officers of the mutineers, with some of the officers of the fencibles, were employed to pacify the mutineers, and induce them to comply with the order for embarkation; but to

no purpose: That Maciver and Williamson appeared to be the most active of those of the 42d Regiment, and extremely enraged.

James Dempster, jeweller in Edinburgh, deponed: That, looking out at a window, on Leith shore, immediately above the third man on the left of the Highlanders, he heard a shot from the north; but whether from the fencibles or the Highlanders he did not know: That this was followed in about a minute by another shot from a Highlander on the left, by which Captain Mansfield fell, upon which a corporal, who was along with Captain Mansfield, fired, and killed that Highlander.

James Dun, stabler in Edinburgh, deponed: That, looking out at a window opposite to the river, he saw a shot coming from the right of the Highlanders: That, a little after, he saw Captain Mansfield step up to one of the Highlanders, and lay his hand on his shoulder, as if to expostulate with him; and that he and another Highlander on his right stepped back, and made a push at Captain Mansfield with bayonets; upon which Captain Mansfield retreated; and immediately either the third or fourth man from the left of the Highlanders fired a shot; upon which Captain Mansfield fell. He observed no fire from the fencibles before Captain Mansfield fell.

Sergeant W. Ralston, of the 71st, deponed: That when the Highlanders were told they were to embark, and to be drafted into the 83d, they declared their reluctance, by saying they would not be put into breeches. On being asked from whence, and when, he heard the first shot, he replied, that it appeared to him to have been from the left of the Highlanders, or the right of the fencibles, which of them he did not know, that it was not a single shot, but a running fire.

Sergeant Ross, of the South Fencibles, deponed: That he was at Leith upon the 20th of April last, during the mutiny; where he saw two of the prisoners, Williamson and Maciver, Williamson very actively prompting the mutiny: That Williamson was much in liquor: That the deponent, by the order of Sir James Johnston, went up to expostulate with the mutineers in the Erse language; and that when he was going on that errand, Williamson desired him not to come forward, and pushed his bayonet again and again at the deponent. Some time after that, the deponent heard a shot from the right of the Highlanders: That two of the sergeants of the South Fencibles came up, and laid hold of Maciver, who struggled with them in order to get rid of them, when a shot came from some of Maciver's party upon his left, which wounded the deponent: That, before this

happened, the deponent was telling the mutineers, so far as they could hear, that, by orders of Sir James Johnston, the fencibles were provided in ammunition, and their guns all loaded: That they had better desist, because they would be forced to embark. They answered, that they would die before they would wear breeches; and told the deponent, that they were provided with ammunition. Being interrogated for the prisoners, at what distance from the two prisoners the firing began, he thought about twenty yards from their left: That about two or three minutes before the firing began, a Highlander from amongst the mob called to the Highlanders, "Why don't you fire?" to which Maciver answered, he would not be the first that would fire.

James Home, soldier in the South Fencibles, deponed: That he was along with Captain Mansfield when the Highlanders began to fire from their right. This witness heard them say before that they could prime, load, and fire as fast as the fencibles could do. He said that Captain Mansfield was speaking with the Highlanders, endeavouring to pacify them, and quell the mutiny, when the Highlanders charged their bayonets, and pushed at him. When he was retreating to the division which he commanded, a Highlander fired upon him, and shot him.

Corporal G. Little, of the South Fencibles, deponed: That he examined several of the Highlanders' muskets, which he found loaded, and likewise a cartridge-box with shot, but could not ascertain whether it belonged to the Highlanders or to the fencibles.

Robert Mudie, ship-master in Leith, deponed: That he was on the top of the pier, on the left of the fencibles, opposite the right of the Highlanders, whom he saw standing with their bayonets charged, from which he retired farther to the right of the fencibles, fearing danger of a shot from the Highlanders: That he saw a shot from the right of the Highlanders, which was the first shot that was fired, and afterwards another from the left of their centre. Before the second shot was fired from the left of the Highlanders' centre, he observed Captain Mansfield, who was upon the right of the fencibles, protecting with his sword one of his soldiers, who was attacked by the Highlanders; and, upon a shot being fired, the mob called out that Captain Mansfield was killed; and the witness retreated.

Captain Rutherford, of the South Fencibles, deponed: That he heard a shot come from the Highlanders, and jumping into his place, observed a corporal on the right of the division mortally wounded.

The question, whether he heard an order or paper read or explained to the Highlanders on the Links of Leith, relative to their being embarked, or drafted into the 83d Regiment, was put to Sergeant Ralston and Corporal Buchanan, both of the 71st; and they both answered in the negative. Captain Innes, also of the 71st, being interrogated, if, on the links of Leith, he read or explained to them such a paper or order, declared he did not, as he thought it would have been improper.

Sergeant Ralston, being interrogated whether the Highlanders complain of the usage, answered, that after they came to the pier of Leith, Hugh Muir, of the 71st, amongst others, said, that if an offer had been made to them of a voluntary draft into the 83d in the manner that the 31st Regiment's men were drafted, he would have been among the first that would have offered himself; but that they were going to boat them like a parcel of sheep; and, since that was the case, he would stand out to the last.

Sergeant A. Ross, of the South Fencibles, being interrogated what message he delivered to the Highlanders from Sir James Johnston in the Erse language, declared, that Sir James ordered him to go to the Highlanders, and use every gentle method of persuasion to pacify them, and get them to comply with the order of embarkation. Being asked if he told the Highlanders, from Sir James, what they were to expect from their refusal to embark, he declared, that Sir James told him that his orders were, either to force them to embark, or bring them prisoners to the castle: That the witness communicated these orders to the Highlanders.

Sir James Johnston, Major of the South Fencibles, declared that the order did command a detachment of the above regiment to seize the Highlanders: That he now produces the said order, which is of the following tenor:

"*Headquarters, April* 20, 1779.

"Sir,—The drafts of the 71st Regiment having refused to embark, you will order 200 men of the South Fencibles, under command of a field-officer, to march immediately to Leith, seize the mutineers, and march them prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh, to be detained there till further orders.—I am, etc.,

"JA. ADOLPHUS OUGHTON."

This order, which has already been quoted, was, as will be remembered, addressed to Governor Wemyss, of Edinburgh Castle, or the commanding-officer of the South Fencible Regiment.

The witness further declared, that when he gave orders to Sergeant Ross to go and speak to the mutineers, in order to pacify them, that Williamson,

one of the prisoners, more than once presented his piece, and the declarant thought once that he was actually going to fire upon him; but that he was prevented by Maciver, another of the prisoners, saying something to Williamson, which the deponent did not understand, upon which Williamson took down his piece; and the declarant thought he owed his life to Maciver for so doing.

Captain Innes showed to the Court an attestation, which he said was in the uniform style of the attestations for that regiment; and it bore expressly, that the person thereby attested was to serve in the 71st Regiment, commanded by Major-General Simon Fraser; and that they were to serve for three years only, or during the continuance of the war. The court-martial pronounced judgment on the 8th of May, but it was not made public till the 28th of that month.

In the forenoon of that day, the regiment of the West Fencibles, then quartered in the suburbs of Edinburgh, having been marched up to the Castle Hill, were formed in three sides of a hollow square facing inwards. The three prisoners were brought down from the castle. With drums muffled and rolling, while the band played a dead march, they, each stepping slowly behind a coffin he thought was meant for him, were brought by an armed escort down the winding pathway from the castle, and placed in the vacant space of the square, opposite a numerous firing party, under the orders of a provost-martial.

On that bright and beautiful summer morning there was a dark cloud on every face in the solemn group. No ceremony is more impressive than a military execution — and on that morning three soldiers were to suffer death.

The condemned men were ordered to kneel beside their open coffins. The fencibles formed round them, and then the major read the following paper:

"*Headquarters, 26th May* 1779.

"At a general court-martial held in Edinburgh Castle on Thursday, the 6th of May, and the two following days, whereof Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas of the 11th Dragoons, was president, for the trial of Charles Williamson and Archibald Maciver, soldiers of the 42d Regiment, and Robert Budge, soldier of the 71st Regiment, accused of being guilty of a mutiny at Leith, upon Tuesday, the 20th day of May 1779, and of instigating others to do the same; the Court unanimously found the prisoners guilty of mutiny, being a breach of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th articles of the second section of the Articles of War; and having duly considered the evil tendency of mutiny and sedition, especially when carried on to such enor-

mous lengths as in the present case, did adjudge the aforesaid Charles Williamson, Archibald Maciver, and Robert Budge, to be shot to death.

"Which sentence, having been transferred to the king, his Majesty having been pleased to signify his royal pleasure, that his Majesty, having regard to the former commendable and distinguished behaviour of the 42d Regiment, to which the two first-mentioned prisoners belong; and remarking that the third prisoner, Robert Budge, who is represented to be now only recovering from the wounds received in the affray, does not appear to have taken any forward part in the mutiny; is most graciously pleased to grant to the said Charles Williamson, Archibald Maciver, and Robert Budge, a free pardon, in full confidence that they will endeavour, upon every future occasion, by a prompt obedience and orderly demeanour, to atone for the unpremeditated but atrocious offence.

"The prisoners were therefore to be released, and join their respective companies.

"(Signed) ROBERT SKENE,
"*Major-General.*"

The condemned men remained on their knees while a Highland officer translated the foregoing into Gaelic. It was a scene got up for effect. As James Grant describes it, with a pardonable appeal to his imagination: They were all pale and composed, but the last, who was suffering from severe wounds received at Leith; his countenance was emaciated and ghastly, and he was sinking from excessive debility. Their eyes were bound up; the officer retired; the provost-martial approached, and ordered his party to load. They were in the act of taking aim at the prisoners, who were praying intently in Gaelic, when Sir Adolphus Oughton stepped forward, and, displaying three pardons, commanded them to recover arms.

"Soldiers," said he, "in consequence of the distinguished valour of the Royal Highlanders, to which two of these unfortunate men belong, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to forgive them all. Prisoners, rise, resume your arms, and rejoin your companies."

An officer repeated these words in Gaelic.

The scene and the whole proceedings were so solemn and affecting, that the released prisoners were incapable of speech. Raising their bonnets, they endeavoured to express their gratitude by a faint cheer, but their voices utterly failed them; and overcome by weakness and a revulsion of feeling, the soldier of the 71st sank prostrate on the ground, between the coffins.

More than forty of their comrades, who were shot or had died of mortal wounds, were buried in the old churchyard

of South Leith, and a grassy mound long marked the place where they lay.

There is one other incident of gloom, which is reported in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of April 24, 1797, thus:

"Yesterday, at twelve o'clock, the corpse of the unfortunate and much lamented Captain James Mansfield was brought up on a hearse from Leith, and delivered over at the north end of the Bridge to the regiment, who attended under arms: they proceeded in solemn procession to Greyfriar's Churchyard, the duke's company, being the one Captain Mansfield, as captain-lieutenant, commanded, having a knot of crape upon their firelocks, and the sergeants' halberts in scarfs, the music playing the dead march, and the drums muffled. The pall-bearers were the Duke of Buccleuch, as chief mourner; Colonel Pringle; Majors Sir James Johnston and Hay; Captains Scott of Gala, Rutherford of Edgerston, Scott of Mulleny, Lord Binning, and Sir Alexander Don. The grenadiers followed the pall, the relations and friends of the deceased next, and a train of gentlemen's carriages closed the procession. The duke's company only fired over the grave."

Captain Mansfield left a widow and six children.

MUTINY OF THE 77TH REGIMENT

(ATHOLE HIGHLANDERS).

January 1783.

ATHOLE is a district in the north of Perthshire. The word in Gaelic means, The Pleasant Land; and, as far as the military influence of the Duke of Athole used to be concerned, it was pleasant enough for him at one time to be able to command the personal services of 3000 hardy Highland men at arms. On important occasions, indeed, he could double the number, the whole 6000 well-armed, and eager to enhance the glory of their chief and clan in the eyes of his king and country.

The power of this Highland potentate became so great as to engender fear in the minds of those he served. It might become as dangerous as it had proved itself, on more than one occasion, advantageous. Accordingly, it was thought necessary to cripple it by legal enactment. But although by such means the chiefs of Athole were deprived of their power, they

continued for many years to enjoy that great influence which sprang from the voluntary attachment and fidelity of their people.

A time came when the young Duke of Athole felt that he was, like so many northern patriots, called upon to step forward and offer his services to Great Britain. The Government acceded to his loyal request to be allowed to raise a regiment of his Highlanders for general service. He was empowered to appoint officers; and a corps of 1000 men was soon recruited.

They were embodied at Perth, and James Murray, son of Lord George Murray, and uncle to the duke, became their colonel. Both officers and men were such as the country needed. The former were young, and were inspired with the spirit of brave soldiers; the latter possessed every advantage of personal appearance and bodily strength, which are requisite for a high degree of the best military morals.

They marched to Port-Patrick in 1778, whence they were shipped to Ireland in a time of expected trouble in that island. They remained there during the American war, and had little opportunity of distinguishing themselves in active service. It was not their fortune to be allowed to prove in any well-fought field, to what extent they were possessors of those qualities which ensure military success. But they were exemplary in quarters, attached and obedient to their officers, and had every advantage of discipline.

In 1783 the regiment was ordered to England, and marched to Portsmouth for the purpose of being embarked for India. Although the terms on which they had enlisted were, that they should serve for three years, or during the war, the men showed at first no reluctance to embark, nor did any of them claim the discharge to which their letters of service entitled them. On the contrary, Colonel Stewart records, when they came in sight of the fleet at Spithead, as they marched across Portsdown Hill, they pulled off their bonnets, and gave three cheers for a brush with Hyder Ali. But no sooner were they quartered in Portsmouth, to wait till the transports should be ready, than distrust and discord appeared.

There is the usual account given in the papers of the time, of emissaries from London having expatiated with the Highlanders on the faithlessness of the war authorities in sending them to the far East, when their term of service had expired. It seems they were told that they had been sold to the East India Company at a certain sum a head. Their officers were not guiltless in this transaction, it was added. These gentlemen were to get a proportion of the price of sale, and divide it among themselves. This was an incitement to the warmest

feelings of resentment in the breast of the Athole Highlanders. Confidence in their officers was undermined; and they must have been easily stirred up to disobedience. They were led to disregard the authority of gentlemen to whom they had hitherto shown the most devoted attachment. They would not believe their explanations.

There is something even in this headstrong mutiny to say for the men. It was but only too true that the arrangements for sending them to India had been made without any regard to the engagement by which they felt themselves bound. They knew on what terms they had enlisted; and no wonder that the insinuations, admitting them to be false, of the busy emissaries who were operating upon them for political and other ends of their own, had a tendency to destroy their faith in officers who also knew the terms on which the men had been enrolled. Authority being weakened, restraint was thus removed from natural indignation.

The consequence was a determination on the part of the men not to embark for India. They would adhere to their terms of service.

The following account of the immediate issue of this resolution, is taken from the *Scots Magazine*, dated January 1783: "The 77th Regiment, Athole Highlanders, lying at Portsmouth, which had been for some time under orders to embark for the East Indies, on Sunday the 26th, received final orders to embark next morning. In obedience to the order they assembled on parade, but with a determined resolution not to embark, alleging as a reason, that their arrears were not paid, and that they were enlisted on the express condition to serve only three years, or during the American war; and as they conceived those conditions were fulfilled, and that they were now intended for the East India Company's service, where none of their officers were going, they declared they would stand by each other to the last, and would not be compelled to embark for the East Indies, as they believed that their officers had bartered them away to that Company.

"The colonel was not present, but the lieutenant-colonel and other officers insisted that they should embark; in consequence of which, the soldiers surrounded them, violently beating the lieutenant-colonel and several others, who narrowly escaped with wounds and bruises; after which they repaired to the magazine, or storehouse for the regiment, which they broke open, and furnished themselves with several rounds of powder and ball.

"A party of the invalids were ordered out to prevent the Highlanders possessing themselves of the parade guard-house.

but being discovered before they gained that place, the Highlanders fired on them, killed one, and wounded one or two others, which compelled the invalids to retreat. In short, the whole was a scene of the utmost drunkenness, riot, and confusion. Sir J. Pye, and Sir J. Carter, the mayor, took every step in their power to appease them, and on their promising they should not be embarked until further orders were received, they separated, and returned to their quarters in the evening, tolerably well satisfied; and next morning they were informed that their embarkation should not be insisted on.

"Immediately upon the accounts of this disturbance reaching London, Major-General Murray, colonel of the 77th Regiment, accompanied by the Duke of Athole, his nephew, went down to Portsmouth, and by their judicious and spirited conduct, assisted by Lord George Lennox, commanding then at Portsmouth, the men were prevailed upon, after having paraded the streets several days, first to assemble on the parade with their arms unloaded, and the day following without their arms."

Several letters from Portsmouth relative to this mutiny appeared in the public prints of the time, and of which the following are a few extracts:

"*Portsmouth, February 2d.*

"The Duke of Athole, Major-General Murray, and Lord George Lennox, have been down here; but the Athole Highlanders are still determined not to go to the East Indies. They have put up their arms and ammunition into one of the magazines, and placed a very strong guard over them, whilst the rest of the regiment sleep and refresh themselves. They come regularly and quietly to the grand parade, very cleanly dressed, twice a day. Their adjutant and other officers parade with them. One day it was proposed to turn the great guns on the ramparts against the Highlanders, but that scheme was soon over-ruled. Another time it was suggested to send for some marching regiments quartered near this place; upon which the Highlanders drew up the draw-bridges, and placed sentinels at them.

"The 81st, another Highland regiment,* aboard the India-

* This was the Aberdeenshire Highland Regiment. They were embarked at Portsmouth for India immediately after the preliminaries of peace had been signed, although the terms on which they had enlisted were, that they should be discharged in three years, or at the end of the war. The men at first made no objections, and remained quietly on board, awaiting the orders for sailing, but when it became known that their Athole brethren were insisting on the performance of the terms of their agreement, a very different feeling evinced itself. They, following the infectious example, called for the fulfilment of their contract, and requested that they should be marched back to their own country, and discharged there. This request was

man, have insisted on being disembarked.

"The 68th Regiment, likewise, which embarked a few days since on board transports for the West Indies, learning that the Highlanders are not to be sent the East Indies, determined to disembark; and, in consequence, very early yesterday morning, they were discovered getting the transports under way, with an intention to run into the harbour; but were all prevented by a man-of-war firing on them, except one transport, the master of which was compelled by the soldiers, amounting to about 300, to bring his vessel to, near the southern beach. The men all got on shore, marched towards the town with an intention to demand quarters of Lord George Lennox, who met them, and ordered them to return, but they refused. His lordship would not permit them to have quarters, but sent them to Hilsea barracks."

Another correspondent writes:

"*Portsmouth February 4th.*

"You may be assured I have had my perplexities since the mutiny commenced in the 77th Regiment; but I must do the men the justice to confess, that, excepting three or four drunken fellows, whose impudence to their officers could only be equalled by their brutality, the whole regiment have conducted themselves with a regularity that is surprising. For what might not have been expected from upwards of 1000 men let loose from all restraint? Matters would never have been carried to the pitch they have, but for the interference of some busy people, who love to be fishing in troubled water.

"The men have opened a subscription for the relief of the widow of the poor invalid, for whose death they express the greatest regret. On their being informed that a regiment in garrison was coming to force them to embark, they flew to their arms, and followed their comrade leaders through the town, with a fixed determination to give battle; but, in finding the report to be false, they returned in the same order to their own quarters. We have been informed that the regiment is not to go to the East Indies contrary to the men's inclination. This has satisfied them, but will be attended with disagreeable consequences to the service. For the 68th Regiment, that were on board transports, refused also to go, and would have come on shore, but for a man-of-war firing at them, which has done some mischief; but could not prevent 300 of them from landing. . . . Since the debates in the House of Commons on this subject, I should not wonder if every man intended for foreign service refused going, for the reasons there

granted, the regiment was marched to Scotland, and was disbanded at Edinburgh.

given, which, you may depend on it, they are now well acquainted with."

The Highlanders applied to the notorious Lord George Gordon, of Gordon Riots renown, for assistance; and the result will be read in the following letters:

"Lord G. Gordon to the Earl of Shelburne.

"My Lord Shelburne,—I have just received two letters from Portsmouth, from his Majesty's 77th Regiment of Foot, the Athole Highlanders, and think it my duty to lay the following extracts from one of them before your lordship, as Prime Minister, without any loss of time:

"'To the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon, Welbeck Street, London.

"'*Portsmouth.*

"'My Lord,—Impressed with a deep sense of your exertions in support of the religion and liberty of the inhabitants of Great Britain, particularly in Scotland; a great number of his Majesty's 77th or Athole Highland Regiment of Foot, take this method of making application to your lordship, for your support at this critical time. (Here they mention that the regiment was raised to serve only three years, or during the war; and that, though they have not been employed in active service, yet they were always ready and willing to exert themselves, if occasion required; and that they think it a violation of justice to order them abroad, now that the American war is over, peace signed with France and Spain, and a cessation of arms agreed on with Holland. They therefore entreat Lord George Gordon to apply to some member of Government on their behalf, and proceed):

"'We are to embark to-morrow; but there is every appearance at present of a desperate resistance being made by the men. How it will end time alone must determine.

"'We assure your lordship, that we never were so much as informed of any such intention till last Wednesday, that we got the route from Andover to this place; and notwithstanding peace being signed, we have received fresh orders for embarkation to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

"'We beg leave to assure your lordship, that we entirely depend upon your interposition and support at this time.

"'And we remain, etc.'

"Now, my Lord Shelburne, I have nothing to add upon this subject at present, except that, if your lordship, or the King's Cabinet, think, from the good opinion the Athole Highlanders are pleased to express of me, that I can be of any service in the affair, I will either go down myself directly this night to Portsmouth, or write them a letter, or send my man express

with a verbal message, or do anything that is just, and fair, and honourable. I am, etc.

"G. GORDON.

"*Eleven o'clock, Tuesday Night.*
"*Welbeck Street, January 28th.*"

Lord Shelburne's answer was short and curt. He wrote:

"*Shelburne House, January 29th.*

"Lord Shelburne presents his compliments to Lord George Gordon, and thanks his lordship for his letter and offers of service, which he did not receive till this morning. Every necessary measure was taken by his Majesty's servants yesterday upon the subject of it, immediately after the account was received."

The mutiny of the Athole Highlanders is to be added as one more to the list of successful risings against an overreaching Government. Notice was taken of it in Parliament, as was referred to in one of the letters quoted. In the course of the Parliamentary debates on the subject, Mr Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, who was then Secretary of State for Ireland, said: "He had happened to have the 77th Regiment immediately under his observation during sixteen months of their garrison duty in Dublin, and though it was not the most agreeable duty in the service, he must say that their conduct was most exemplary. Their officers were not only men of gentlemanly character, but peculiarly attentive to regimental discipline. He, having once, upon the sudden alarm of invasion, sent an order for the immediate march of this regiment to Cork, they showed their alacrity by marching at an hour's notice, and completed their march with a despatch beyond any instance in modern times; and this, too, without leaving a single soldier behind."

A result of the discussion of the question, during which these complimentary remarks were made, was the following declaration which appeared in the *London Gazette:*

"*War Office, February 4th.*

"Whereas doubts have arisen with respect to the extent and meaning of his Majesty's orders, dated, War Office, December 16, 1775, relative to the terms of enlistment of soldiers since that time in the marching regiments of infantry; his Majesty doth hereby declare, that all men now serving in any marching regiment, or corps of infantry, who have been enlisted since the date of the said order, shall, on the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, be discharged, provided they shall have served three years from the dates of their attestations. And all men enlisted and serving as above, who have not so completed their full time of service, shall be discharged at the expiration of three years

from the dates of their respective attestations; and that, in the meantime, no person enlisted under the conditions above mentioned, shall be sent on any foreign service, unless he shall have been re-enlisted into his Majesty's service.

"(By his Majesty's command.)

"GEO. YONGE."

The result of this mutiny was that the regiment was marched to Berwick, and disbanded there, according to the original agreement. No man was tried or punished—a very safe inference from which fact being, that however much to be regretted was the conduct of a few individuals, the Athole Highlanders had just cause of complaint.

Colonel Stewart's concluding remarks on this mutiny are interesting. He says: "It is difficult for those who are not in the habit of mixing with the Highlanders, to believe the extent of mischief which this unhappy misunderstanding occasioned, and the deep and lasting impression it left behind it. In the course of my recruiting, many years afterwards, I was often reminded of this attempt on the Athole Highlanders, which was always alleged as a confirmation of what had happened at an earlier period, to the Black Watch. This transaction, and others of a similar description, created distrust in Government, and in the integrity of its agents. If Government had offered a small bounty, when the Athole Highlanders required to embark, there can be little doubt they would have obeyed their orders, and embarked as cheerfully as they marched into Portsmouth."

MUTINY OF BREADALBANE FENCIBLES.

December 1794.

THE system of Fencible Regiments was had recourse to in Scotland as a mode of embodying troops somewhat different from the county militia of England. When the militia regiments were first established in England, the measure was not extended to Scotland, on account of that national jealousy which had to await the advent of railways for its mollification. The people of Scotland were thought at the time not fit to be entrusted with arms, just as the people of Ireland are looked upon at present. Let us hope that in another hundred years the Irish will be thought as trustworthy in this matter as the

Scotch are now. Perhaps another question will be settled then too—Who was to blame? It is to be feared that when this and many kindred questions of international importance within the three kingdoms are fairly settled, England will feel she has little occasion to bear herself so proudly against ner two sisters as has for centuries been her wont. This by the way.

The peculiarity of the fencible system, at the time it was started, was that while the officers were appointed and their commissions signed by the king, the men were to be raised by recruiting in the common manner, and not by ballot in the particular counties, as was the case in the militia. The social state of Scotland offered peculiar facilities for this system. There the influence of individuals could outbid social compulsion. Property, rank, and character, recommended leaders to willing and obedient followers, as by a sort of pre-established harmony.

In such a relation to the people stood several Highland noblemen and gentlemen whose moderate revenues were derived from wide acres of barren land; but whose personal and family influence was of such a kind, that they could, at will, when the occasion required it, step forward at the head of a body of brave and hardy men to defend their country, or defy its enemies.

Among these Highland proprietors the Earl of Breadalbane held a pre-eminent rank at the time referred to in the story of this mutiny. He made an offer to raise two fencible regiments; the offer was accepted, and the corps were rapidly embodied in the summer of 1793. A third battalion was embodied in 1794—the whole force amounting to 2300 men, of whom 1600, or about two-thirds, were raised on the Breadalbane estate, which at the time supported a population of not quite 14,000. It is said that in a few days, indeed as quickly as the oaths could be administered by several neighbouring gentlemen who attended as justices of the peace, 500 men were attested at Taymouth Castle, the seat of Lord Breadalbane. The rest followed quickly. They were then removed to Perth, where they were joined by those raised in other parts of the country; and the whole were embodied, and formed into two battalions, named the 1st and 2d Breadalbane Fencible Highlanders.

The mutiny of Breadalbane Fencibles, a rather serious disturbance, broke out in Glasgow in December 1794. The best thing to be done, if these rehearsals of the instructive past are to be taken at their worth, is simply to record the accounts given at the time. The following is from the *Scots Magazine*, a journal which has already been frequently quoted in the furbishing up again of the story of Mutinies in Highland Regiments:

"For some time past, a con-

siderable alarm has been excited, by the improper conduct of some privates belonging to the Breadalbane Fencibles, lying at Glasgow.

"On Monday the 1st December, a soldier of the 1st battalion of the Breadalbane Fencible Regiment, now quartered in Glasgow, having been confined in the guard-house upon an accusation of having been guilty of a military offence, a party of the regiment assembled round the guard-house, and obliged their officers to set him at liberty. After committing this outrage, they behaved quietly and peaceably, and did regimental duty in the usual manner, though the spirit of mutiny still subsisted to such a degree, that the private soldiers of the regiment would neither agree to give up the soldier who had been released, nor the ringleaders of the mutiny, to be tried for their crimes. Lord Adam Gordon, Commander-in-Chief for Scotland, immediately adopted the most vigorous measures for apprehending the mutineers, by collecting round Glasgow all the troops which could be spared for that service; and General Leslie, Sir James Stewart, and Colonel Montgomery, went thither to take the command of them, with a determined resolution forcibly to lay hold of the aggressors, in case they were not delivered up by the regiment. But before proceeding to coercion, it was thought proper by Lord Adam Gordon, and the officers of his staff, with whom he consulted, to give the regiment a short time to reflect on their conduct, and the danger in which they stood, if they did not, of their own accord, do what was determined should otherwise be done by force of arms; a voluntary surrender of the offenders being deemed a better example of military discipline, than forcibly seizing them by other troops. This prudent experiment happily succeeded: four of the ringleaders having surrendered themselves voluntarily and unconditionally to Lord Breadalbane, on Tuesday morning the 16th instant, who were immediately marched prisoners to Edinburgh, under a strong guard of their own regiment, commanded by Captain Campbell of the grenadier company. The Hon. Major Leslie, and Mr Maclean, adjutant of the regiment, having accompanied the party a short way on their march, were, upon their return to town, grossly insulted by a number of riotous and disorderly inhabitants of the town, who, after having upbraided them for being active in sending off the mutineers to be punished, assaulted them with stones and other missile weapons, by one of which Major Leslie was knocked down; and he and Mr Maclean were forced to take shelter in a house, where they secured themselves from the mob (who attempted to break open the doors and windows to

get at them), till the Lord Provost, magistrates, and peace-officers, and the company of Breadalbane Regiment who were on duty at the guard-house, arrived and relieved them from their disagreeable and dangerous situation."

In addition to the above, the following account (which had been shown to, and approved by the Lord Provost of Glasgow) was published by the desire of the Right Hon. the Earl of Breadalbane, and the officers of the corps:

"A great variety of groundless rumours and exaggerated reports having gone abroad regarding the conduct of the first battalion of the Breadalbane Fencible Regiment at Glasgow, on Monday the 1st of December, and since, by which the public mind has been considerably agitated, and greatly prejudiced, it appears that, in justice to all concerned, a correct state of facts should be laid before the public.

"During the affair of Monday, when a private of the light company, who had been confined for a military offence, was released by that company, and some individuals from other companies, who had assembled in a tumultuous manner before the guard-house, no person whatever was hurt, nor any violence offered; and, however unjustifiable the proceeding, it originated, not from any disrespect or ill-will to the officers, but from a mistaken point of honour in a particular set of men in the battalion, who thought themselves disgraced by the impending punishment of one of their number.

"The men of the battalion have, in every respect, since that period, conducted themselves with the greatest regularity, and strictest subordination; and on Tuesday and Wednesday they voluntarily delivered up to their colonel, the Earl of Breadalbane, such men as were demanded on account of having been most forward in the affair of Monday. Of these one only made the least hesitation; but he also, after some consideration, voluntarily surrendered himself, and the whole were sent off to Edinburgh, under the escort of a detachment of the regiment. The whole battalion seemed extremely sensible of the improper conduct of such as were concerned, whatever regret they might feel for the fate of the few individuals who had so readily given themselves up as prisoners to be tried for their own and others' misconduct.

"An account of this matter having appeared in the *Glasgow Courier* of Thursday, it is proper to observe, that a mistake has, through inadvertency or misinformation, got into that account; for there is no reason to believe that the mutineers were possessed of any ammunition, though they did say it was offered to be procured for them by some of the inhabitants in their rear.

"It is also to be remarked, that all of them offered to deliver themselves up on Monday the 8th, previous to any general officer, or troops, coming to Glasgow.

"It may be observed further, that in the account published in the Edinburgh papers, it is said, that the volunteers quelled the riot raised by the townspeople, on the return of Major Leslie, and Mr M'Lean; whereas it was a detachment of the Breadalbane Fencible Regiment who marched up to the relief of those gentlemen, with the greatest alacrity and expedition; for which they received the thanks of the Lord Provost and general officers, besides a handsome acknowledgment from Major Corbet and the Glasgow Volunteers.

"Notwithstanding this unfortunate affair, it is but justice to observe, that in every other view, the soldiers of this regiment have, upon all occasions, behaved themselves with the greatest sobriety, and that they have been, and still are, upon the best of terms with their officers."

Our authority further says:

"Letters received from Glasgow mention, that the utmost tranquillity prevails there. The magistrates have offered a reward of £50 for discovering any of the persons who insulted the officers on Tuesday, but no discovery has yet been made. Several have been taken up, but dismissed for want of sufficient evidence. The three troops of the Queen's Own Regiment of Dragoons, which arrived in Glasgow from Paisley on Tuesday night, returned. The dragoons from Kilmarnock still remain at Glasgow. The Argyleshire Regiment of Fencibles arrived at Rutherglen, on Thursday, from Edinburgh; and on Friday marched for Paisley. On Thursday night three more prisoners were brought to town from Glasgow, by a party of the 3d Regiment of Dragoons, and lodged in the castle."

The *Magazine* for January 1795, says: "The court-martial which has sat in the castle upon the mutineers of the Breadalbane Fencibles is now over. There have been eight prisoners tried upon three separate charges; but the sentences are not known till reported either to his Majesty, or the commander-in-chief, who in this country is invested with the same powers as his Majesty, with regard to the sentences of courts-martial. The event has shown that four were found guilty. On the 27th at ten o'clock, the four prisoners who had been adjudged to suffer death for the crimes of mutiny and disobedience, were taken from the castle in two mourning coaches, attended by the Rev. Mr Robertson M'Gregor, and under an escort of the 3d Regiment of Dragoons, and a detachment of the 3d battalion of the Scotch Brigade. They marched to the sands near

Musselburgh, where the escort was joined by several corps, and detachments of cavalry and infantry, all under the command of Major-General Sir James Stewart. The sentence of the court-martial was then read to the prisoners, with the general orders given out by Lord Adam Gordon, approving of the proceedings of the said court-martial, and directing the sentence to be carried into execution against Alexander Sutherland or Sandison, the most guilty of the offenders, but suspending the sentence of the other prisoners until his Majesty's pleasure should be known. The prisoner Sutherland was then shot to death by a party of the regiment to which he belonged, and the other prisoners were remanded to Edinburgh Castle, escorted as in the morning. It is but doing justice to the corps and detachment, assembled on this solemn occasion, to say that they behaved with the greatest propriety. Sutherland was a native of Caithness. He met his fate with becoming penitence and fortitude."

Such is the account given of this sad affair at the time, in a journal which had to keep a look out against the penal consequence of writing or speaking at the end of the enlightened eighteenth century.

Another account, much truer to Highland feelings, unstrained by the necessities under which a man labours who is writing a semi-official record, is given by Colonel Stewart, one of the most honest of Highland historians. He says: "Several men having been confined and threatened with corporal punishment, considerable discontent and irritation were excited among their comrades, which increased to such violence, that, when some men were confined in the guard-house, a great proportion of the regiment rushed out and forcibly relieved the prisoners. This violation of military discipline was not to be passed over, and accordingly measures were immediately taken to secure the ringleaders. But so many were equally concerned, that it was difficult, if not impossible, to fix the crime on any, as being more prominently guilty. And here was shown a trait of character worthy of a better cause, and which originated from a feeling alive to the disgrace of a degrading punishment. The soldiers being made sensible of the nature of their misconduct, and the consequent necessity of public example, *several men voluntarily offered themselves to stand trial*, and suffer the sentence of the law, as an atonement for the whole. These men were accordingly marched to Edinburgh Castle, tried, and four condemned to be shot. Three of them were afterwards reprieved, and the fourth, Alexander Sutherland, was shot on Musselburgh Sands.

"On the march to Edinburgh, a circumstance occurred, the

more worthy of notice, as it shows a strong principle of honour and fidelity to his word and to his officer, in a common Highland soldier. One of the men stated to the officer commanding the party, that he knew what his fate would be, but that he had left business of the utmost importance to a friend in Glasgow, which he wished to transact before his death; that, as to himself, he was fully prepared to meet his fate; but with regard to his friend, he could not die in peace unless the business was settled, and that, if the officer would suffer him to return to Glasgow, a few hours there would be sufficient, and he would join him before he reached Edinburgh, and march as a prisoner with the party. The soldier added, 'You have known me since I was a child; you know my country and kindred, and you may believe I shall never bring you to any blame by a breach of the promise I now make, to be with you in full time to be delivered up in the Castle.' This was a startling proposal to the officer, who was a judicious humane man, and knew perfectly his risk and responsibility in yielding to such an extraordinary application. However, his confidence was such, that he complied with the request of the prisoner, who returned to Glasgow at night, settled his business, and left the town before daylight to redeem his pledge. He took a long circuit to avoid being seen, apprehended as a deserter, and sent back to Glasgow, as probably his account of his officer's indulgence would not have been credited. In consequence of this caution, and the lengthened march through woods and over hills by an unfrequented route, there was no appearance of him at the hour appointed. The perplexity of the officer when he reached the neighbourhood of Edinburgh may be easily imagined. He moved forward slowly indeed, but no one appeared; and unable to delay any longer, he marched up to the castle, and as he was delivering over the prisoners, but before any report was given in, Macmartin, the absent soldier, rushed in among his fellow-prisoners, all pale with anxiety and fatigue, and breathless with apprehension of the consequences in which his delay might have involved his benefactor.

"In whatever light the conduct of the officer may be considered, either by military men or others, in this memorable exemplification of the characteristic principle of his countrymen—fidelity to their word—it cannot but be wished that the soldier's magnanimous self-devotion had been taken as an atonement for his own misconduct and that of the whole, who also had made a high sacrifice, in the voluntary offer of their lives for the conduct of their brother soldiers. Are these a people to be treated as

malefactors, without regard to their feelings and principles; and might not a discipline, somewhat different from the usual mode, be, with advantage, applied to them?"

MUTINY OF THE GRANT FENCIBLES.

June 1795.

This mutiny, which broke out in June 1795, exhibits another instance of insubordination, originating in horror of the disgrace, which, according to the views of the Highlanders, could not fail to attach to themselves and their country for a punishment which they regarded as infamous, while the so-called crime for which the punishment was inflicted, did not seem to them at all infamous in any moral sense. But a word or two about the embodiment of the Grant Fencibles.

Sir James Grant, of Castle Grant, was a good man, and a beloved patriarchal chief. He offered to raise a regiment of loyal men at the outbreak of the war. The offer was gladly accepted, and two months after the declaration of war, the regiment assembled at Forres. This was at the close of April 1793. Too many loyal men came forward; and in May, seventy of them were discharged as supernumeraries. It was on the 5th of June that the corps was finally inspected and embodied by Lieutenant-General Leslie. In August the regiment was marched to Aberdeen; and after being stationed at that city for a time, was sent to Linlithgow, Glasgow, Dumfries, Musselburgh, and many other towns south of the Forth.

When stationed at Linlithgow in 1794, they were unfortunately selected for being sounded on a question, great in the apprehension of a Highlander of the time. The service of Scotch Fencible Regiments was understood to be confined to Scotland, and at that time a desire was felt to extend their service. Measures were accordingly taken to sound the Grant men on this subject, but it would seem the process was not very prudently conducted. It was a case in which their feelings and prejudices should have been carefully taken into account, especially when an agreement already come to was to be altered. Some of the officers, however, did not seem to think any explanation necessary; others of them, it seems, entirely mistook

the meaning and import of the commanding officer's orders. Be it as it may, jealousy and distrust were engendered, the soldiers took alarm—some were for agreeing with the proposals, others opposed them to the last degree—and the result was, that no volunteering took place.

This misunderstanding was not easily cleared away; but it seemed to become allayed, after Sir James Grant, hearing of it, hurried to join his men.

But when they were quartered in Dumfries in 1795, it unfortunately came to the surface again, as the story of this mutiny will illustrate.

The following account of it appeared in the *Scots Magazine* of June in that year: "A disagreeable circumstance happened in the 1st Regiment of Fencibles, quartered at Dumfries. One of the men being confined for impropriety in the field when under arms, several of his comrades resolved to release him; but they were repelled by the adjutant and officer on guard, who made the ringleader a prisoner. The commanding-officer of the regiment immediately ordered a garrison court-martial, consisting of his own corps and the Ulster Light Dragoons. When the prisoners were remanded back from the court to the guard-room, their escort was attacked by fifty or sixty of the soldiers with fixed bayonets, part of whom ran away with the prisoners. By the intrepidity and good conduct of the lieutenant-colonel and officers, they were secured. They afterwards expressed a proper sense of their irregular conduct, and have peaceably submitted themselves to their fate."

The July number of the same magazine—a storehouse of historical information of incomparable interest—carries on the story thus:

"On the 17th inst., the five prisoners belonging to the 1st Fencible Regiment, who were tried for the crime of mutiny by the late general court-martial, held at Musselburgh—four of whom had been adjudged to suffer death, and the fifth to receive corporal punishment—were carried from Musselburgh to the links of Gullen, escorted by the 1st, 2d, first battalion of the 4th, and a detachment of the 7th Fencible Regiments, three troops of the 4th Regiment of Dragoons, with two field-pieces, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery. They were there joined by the two battalions of the 6th Brigade, troops of the 4th Dragoons, and several troops of Fencible Cavalry, the whole under the command of Major-General James Hamilton. The troops were drawn up in the following order, composing three faces of a square: The centre consisting of the first battalion of the 4th, and a detachment of the 7th Fencible Regiments; the right face of the Scotch Brigade, and the left of the 2d Fencible Regiment.

The second line was composed of cavalry, twenty paces in the rear of the infantry. The division of the 4th Regiment of Dragoons, from Dunbar camp, formed in the rear of the centre face; the Fencible Cavalry, from Haddington and Dunbar, in the rear of the right face; and the division of the 4th Regiment of Dragoons, from Musselburgh camp, in the rear of the left face of the square. A space was left in the line of the cavalry of the centre face, where the artillery were posted with two light six-pounders.

"The sentence of the court-martial was then read to the prisoners, with the general orders given out by Lord Adam Gordon, approving of the proceedings of the said court-martial, and directing the sentence to be carried into execution against Alexander Fraser; and that the other three prisoners adjudged to suffer death should draw lots, and the person on whom the lot to suffer should fall, to be shot to death at the same time with the said Alexander Fraser; suspending the sentence of the three remaining prisoners until His Majesty's pleasure concerning them should be known.

"The prisoner, Alexander Fraser, and also the prisoner Charles M'Intosh, upon whom the lot to suffer had fallen, were then shot to death by a party of the regiment to which they belonged; and the other three prisoners were remanded to Musselburgh jail. After the execution, the whole marched round the dead bodies in slow time, and afterwards filed off to their respective quarters and cantonments. All the different corps and detachments assembled on this occasion behaved with the greatest propriety during the whole of the very awful and affecting scene."

The scene was truly "awful and affecting." The very fulness of detail with which it is described shows the importance attached to it at the time as a piece of show punishment. These mutinies were becoming, indeed, a question of very serious national importance. This one originated primarily in the proposal to send the Scotch Fencibles out of Scotland. Such a measure would not have received much attention at the headquarters in previous years. But since the time of the Black Watch's forlorn march half a century ago, the ruling powers had been rendered cautious by successful mutineers, who made it both known and felt that they understood the terms on which they had engaged to serve their country. Although the same question lay at the bottom of this manifestation of insubordination as of similar earlier outbreaks in Highland regiments, yet the immediate occasion of the rising is not to be apologised for.

The names of the three prisoners who were not shot were —Corporal M'Donald, Alex-

ander M'Intosh, and Duncan M'Dougall.

It is touching to reflect on Sir James Grant, the colonel and patron of his beloved regiment, hurrying again to Dumfries—as he had formerly done to Linlithgow—to try and save the erring men; but this time he was too late.

Another mutinous incident in a regiment of Highlanders may be mentioned before a close is put to this painful series of narrations. It occurred at Glasgow in 1804. In that year orders were issued by the war authorities to raise in the Highlands a regiment to be called the Canadian Fencibles, because, as was averred, they were to serve in Canada only. There were circumstances in the Highlands at the time which induced the sorrowing people of that country to regard this as a very fortunate event. Men were being removed from the hills and dales they loved, to make room for sheep and cattle. One extensive glen in Inverness-shire was, for this end, mercilessly depopulated; and that was only one instance of the method of improving the country, which was regarded as so certain to secure for it material wealth.

Accordingly, the Canadian corps was speedily filled up. Young active men who had lost their homes, and been turned away from their usual mode of providing for subsistence, eagerly entered it. They saw thus presented to them a means of reaching that country in which many of their friends and neighbours had found comfort and security, and lived free from the fear of summary ejectment, and the mode in which it was effected, namely, burning their houses about their ears.

The men who enlisted for this regiment were ordered to assemble in Glasgow. When they met there, they found a grievance of which loyal Highlanders had on former occasions cause to complain, and the consequences of rising in wrath to rectify what they had reason to lament. The most scandalous deceptions had been practised on them. Terms had been offered by recruiting agents, which Government could not, and would not, sanction. Besides, these agents had made money by their heartless lies. A great number of the poor Highlanders, in consequence of the favourable terms held out to them in prospect, had enlisted without any, or for, at least, a very small bounty.

When in Glasgow the real situation of affairs was discovered by the innocent and true-hearted dupes, they were loud in their remonstrances; they became disobedient and disorderly, and a dangerous outburst of mutiny was apprehended.

General Wemyss, of Wemyss, who commanded in Glasgow at

the time, ordered an immediate inquiry to be made into the causes of this formidable discontent. Just as of old, the foundation of the complaints was found to be of such a nature, that it was necessary to justify the men and satisfy them.

In the meantime, the regiment, which numbered 800 soldiers, was marched to Ayr. This did not look well in the eyes of Highlanders who were suffering from severe irritation. Why send them so far south from Greenock, the port of embarkation for Canada? The report had got into circulation, that they were to be sent to the Isle of Wight, and thence shipped off to the East or West Indies. The present move seemed to confirm this rumour, and the mutiny was once more on the point of flaring out, and flaming up.

It was again cooled down in time. Full inquiry into all the circumstances was made. It was found that the men had been deceived. Their conduct was not to be blamed. None of them were tried, no one lashed or shot. They were only all discharged; thrown out and back upon a heartless world, all their ardent hopes extinguished, and most of their little money spent. They were far from home—all the farther by the ill-judged march to Ayr. No doubt that was a ruse by the authorities to try and gain over the obstinate Highlanders. Some of them intended still to go to Canada, but it was a serious thing in those days for a poor man to journey as far as from Ayr to Greenock.

What were they to do? It was not easy to see. But as the second battalions of the 78th and 79th Regiments were, at the time, recruiting, numbers of the men enlisted in them. Others who had money to pay for the passage, went to America; and a great many were left poor labouring men in various parts of the lowlands, where, to their latest hour, they believed in, and spoke of, the perfidy of the British Government, and its enlisting agents.

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